

THE COLOPHONS OF THIRTY PĀLI MANUSCRIPTS FROM NORTHERN THAILAND

CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	3
Note on Transcriptions.....	6
List of Abbreviations and Signs.....	7
Map	8

PART A : INTRODUCTION

1. Background : The Sources.....	10
1.1 The Pāli Tradition of Northern Thailand in an Historical Perspective	10
1.2 Surveys of Manuscripts and Relevant Research	15
2. Subject, Aims and Scope of the Study	20
3. The Colophons.....	26
3.1 The Collection of the Thirty Pāli Manuscripts	26
3.2 Content of the Colophons	28
3.2.1 The Purpose and Organization of Making Dhamma Manuscripts	28
3.2.2 Making Manuscripts as a Means of Acquiring Merit.....	29
3.2.3 Aspirations for Results of Merit.....	30
3.2.4 Social Aspects of the Making of Manuscripts.....	31
3.2.5 The Colophons as Media of Communication and Personal Expression.....	32
3.2.6 Remarks Pertaining to the Quality of the Copying Work.....	33
3.2.7 Evidence on Historical Personalities and Places.....	34
3.2.7.1 The Venerable Gruu Paa Kañcana from Phrae	34
3.2.7.2 'Daa "Sqqy	36
3.3 Composition of Variant Colophons — an Example	37

PART B : THE TEXTS

1. Technical Remarks

1.1 The Transliteration.....	42
1.1.1 Consonants	43
1.1.1.1 General Principles.....	43

1.1.1.2	Rationale.....	43
1.1.1.3	Specific Information.....	44
1.1.2	Vowels	45
1.1.2.1	General Principles.....	45
1.1.2.2	Rationale.....	46
1.1.2.3	Specific Information.....	47
1.1.3	Tones.....	48
1.2	Note on the Phonematic Notation.....	49
1.3	Note on the Pronunciation.....	49
1.3.1	General Remarks.....	49
1.3.2	Tonal Quality and Phonological Affiliation of the Tones.....	49
1.3.3	Ambiguities of Pronunciation.....	50
1.3.3.1	Loss of /-?/ in connected speech.....	50
1.3.3.2	Final particles.....	52
1.3.3.3	Tonal quality of certain syllables ending with /-am/.....	52
1.4	The Pagination of Palm-leaf Manuscripts	53
1.5	Glossary of Special Words.....	53
1.6	Remarks on Dates and Calendrical Systems	55
1.7	Note on the Description of the Manuscripts and the Presentation of the Colophons.....	56

2. The Manuscripts and their Colophons

01.	DHAMMAPADA-ATṬHAKATHĀ	59
02.	DHAMMAPADA-ATṬHAKATHĀ	60
03.	JĀTAKA: Mahosathajātaka	62
04.	MILINDAPAÑHA	63
05.	JĀTAKA: Paññāsanipāta	64
06.	JĀTAKA: Tiñsanipāta	67
07.	JĀTAKA: Sattatinipāta.....	68
08.	SAMYUTTANIKĀ YA: Sagāthavagga.....	70
09.	PATṬHĀNA-MAHĀPAKARANA-ATṬHAKATHĀ	75
10.	ABHIDHAMMA-GULHATṬHA-DĪPANI	76
11.	DĪGHANIKĀYA; Sāmaññaphalasutta	78
12.	SADDANĪTI	79
13.	JĀTAKA: Vessantarajātaka-[Atthavaññanā-] tīkā ("TĪKĀ MAHĀVESSANTARA")	85
14.	JĀTAKA: Vessantarajātaka-Atṭhakathā	86
15.	CAKKAVĀLADĪPANI	88
16.	CAKKAVĀLADĪPANI	94
17.	CĀMADEVIVAÑSA	101

18.	CĀMADEVIVAÑSA	105
19.	JĀTAKA: Vessantaradipani	108
20.	LOKADĪPA	113
21.	LOKADĪPA	117
22.	LOKASANTHĀNA(-JOTARATANAGANTHĪ)	119
23.	MANIPADĪPA	121
24.	BUDDHASIHINĀGA-NIDĀNA	128
25.	VAÑSAMĀLINI	130
26.	VUTTODAYA	132
27.	SIVIJAYAPAÑHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA)	133
28.	SIVIJAYAPAÑHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA)	136
29.	PARAMATṬHAVIBHŪSANI	144
30.	PARAMATṬHAVIBHŪSANI	150

INDEX

A.	Pāli Manuscripts in Chronological Order (Christian Era).....	157
B.	Repositories of the Manuscripts (1974).....	158
C.	Texts and Authors.....	158
D.	Donors, Scribes, and Other Persons Mentioned in the Colophons.....	159
E.	Names of Places	164
F.	Names of Monasteries	165

BIBLIOGRAPHY

 167 |

PREFACE

It was in the spring of 1972 that I first visited a Northern Thai monastery: a rural *wat*, some 3km from Lamphun Municipality. I was surprised by what I saw: a good dozen elderly men clad in faded and worn-out blue cotton shirts, their sunburnt faces laughing, some puffing sweet-smelling clouds out of their long green *khiiñoo* cigars, sitting on mats surrounded by hundreds of palm-leaf manuscripts, undoing their wrappings, reading a little bit of this, a little bit of that, chatting and exchanging views about their favourite stories: Northern Thai literature, at that time almost unknown outside the region, appeared to be still pretty much alive among the Lan Na people — at least, in the hearts of the older generation. To see so many "simple folk" reading Northern Thai script at ease, and discussing literary works was surprising; what made me feel

perplexed, was the contradiction lying in the fact that most of these manuscripts had been left untouched, as I came to learn, for years, in half a dozen partly rotten, wooden caskets — a prey for termites, mice and mould.

These elderly lay-men were, by the way, volunteers from the community of Wat San Rim Ping who had been asked the previous day, by Acharn Singkha Wannasai (1920–1980), my teacher and project advisor, to lend a helping hand to a "Farang" wanting to study and record valuable examples of the Northern Thai literary tradition on microfilm, in order to preserve them and make them known abroad.

At that time, not only the manuscripts, but also the language and literature of Northern Thailand seemed doomed to slip into oblivion. The following years, however, witnessed considerable change; today, Northern Thai language and literature, arts and culture are enjoying growing attention. Scholars from Thailand and abroad, but above all, the people of Northern Thailand themselves, including folk artists and members of the Buddhist Sangha, have joined in the task of preserving Lan Na's literary heritage.

The present study grew out of an involvement in these endeavours. Having evaluated a considerable number of manuscripts in the course of previous research, preservation work, and teaching responsibilities, the idea of making an in-depth study of colophons was sparked by discussions with Professor Dr. Oskar von Hinüber (Universität Freiburg) who had for several years been tracing the ancient Pāli tradition of Lan Na. His articles, published in various journals since 1983, were especially stimulating for this study. He also took it upon himself to check my Pāli transliterations, and verify the beginnings and endings of the thirty manuscripts introduced here, in the standard editions. So now that the study has been completed, my sincerest thanks go first to him for his encouragement and personal interest in the progress of the work.

I am further indebted to Professor Dr. Udom Roongruangsri, my colleague at the M.A. Program "Lanna Language and Literature", Chiang Mai University, who shared generously his time and expertise in discussions of the contents and the wording of some of the older colophons.

Thoughts also go back to Professor Dr. Bernhard Kölver (Universität Kiel) who spent, some ten years ago, many an afternoon discussing the problems of how to come to grips with the abundance of variants in Northern Thai manuscripts from different historical epochs and various geographical origins. The transliteration system which evolved out of this cooperation proved useful again for preserving the linguistic evidence

contained in the colophons.

This article would not have taken its present shape without the continuous contributions — practical, intellectual, and emotional — made by my wife, Ingrid, during every phase of the work.

I am further obliged to John Cadet (Chiang Mai) for going through an early draft of the translation of several colophons. In the final stages of writing Laurie Maund (Chiang Mai University) took great pains in polishing the English, at the same time adding valuable suggestions.

The map was prepared by Bordin Wongjunpong under the supervision of Asst. Professor Dr. Nuansiri Wongtangswad (Chiang Mai University). Chuanpit Lilit proved herself reliable and circumspect as ever, when helping in preparing the manuscript, and assisting in computer work. The special characters and signs were designed by Phichak Limprasut, Chiang Mai; the retyping of the data section (Part B) as well as the rearrangement of the Introduction which had to be transferred from a different word-processing system, was done by myself. All errors or misprints are therefore entirely mine.

Other persons have, knowingly or unknowingly, also contributed to the completion of the present study: the colleagues involved in the "Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts" Project, who had to compensate for my absence during field trips and meetings; likewise those from the Department of Thai, and the M.A. students who showed understanding and patience when I had to absent myself from "Rüan Doem", our common workstation at the Faculty of Humanities, for longer periods during past semester breaks.

I should also like to take this opportunity to express again my deep appreciation for the continuous support extended by the National Research Council of Thailand as well as the National Library, Bangkok. I am especially obliged to Professors Maenmas Chavalit and Kulasap Gesmankit for their personal interest in the work and their readiness to help with its progress in every respect. Special thanks are due for the permission to go through preliminary hand-lists of the holdings of Northern and Northeastern Thai manuscripts at the National Library, and to have microfilm copies made of a considerable number of relevant texts.

As may be inferred from the foregoing acknowledgments, the present study could be pursued due to a combination of favourable conditions; the most exceptional being the privilege of a continuous stay in Northern Thailand, made possible through the seconding of a lecturership for the M.A. Program "Lan Na Language and Literature" at the Department of Thai, Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University, by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) since 1983. Furthermore, the work

was greatly enhanced by the results of previous research projects conducted by the author with the support of the German Research Association (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft [DFG], Bonn) between 1971–1983. The texts under study were easily accessible, since a copy of a microfilm collection including the texts presented here, set up in 1972–1974 in the course of the Project "Dokumentarische Erfassung literarischer Materialien in den Nordprovinzen Thailands", had been donated to Chiang Mai University (Department of Thai) by the German Foreign Office, in 1977/78. Thanks to a grant given to the above-mentioned M.A. Program by the Volkswagen-Stiftung, Hannover, in which were included two high-quality microfilm readers, these microfilms could be conveniently made use of for the present study.

Finally, I should like to express my gratitude to the Pali Text Society for publishing the study in the Society's *Journal*, and for providing a grant to be used for expenses that occurred in the course of producing camera-ready copy. I am especially obliged to the editor of the PTS Journal, Professor K.R. Norman, for taking it upon himself to make the editorial changes needed for publication.

Last but not least, mention must be made of the authors and the scribes, as well as the donors and supporters of the past who joined hands in the making of the manuscripts presented here. It is through their efforts that we can study Lan Na's literary heritage and witness the pre-eminent role Buddhism and literature formerly enjoyed in the hearts of the people.

Chiang Mai, April 1990

Harald Hundius

Note on Transcriptions.

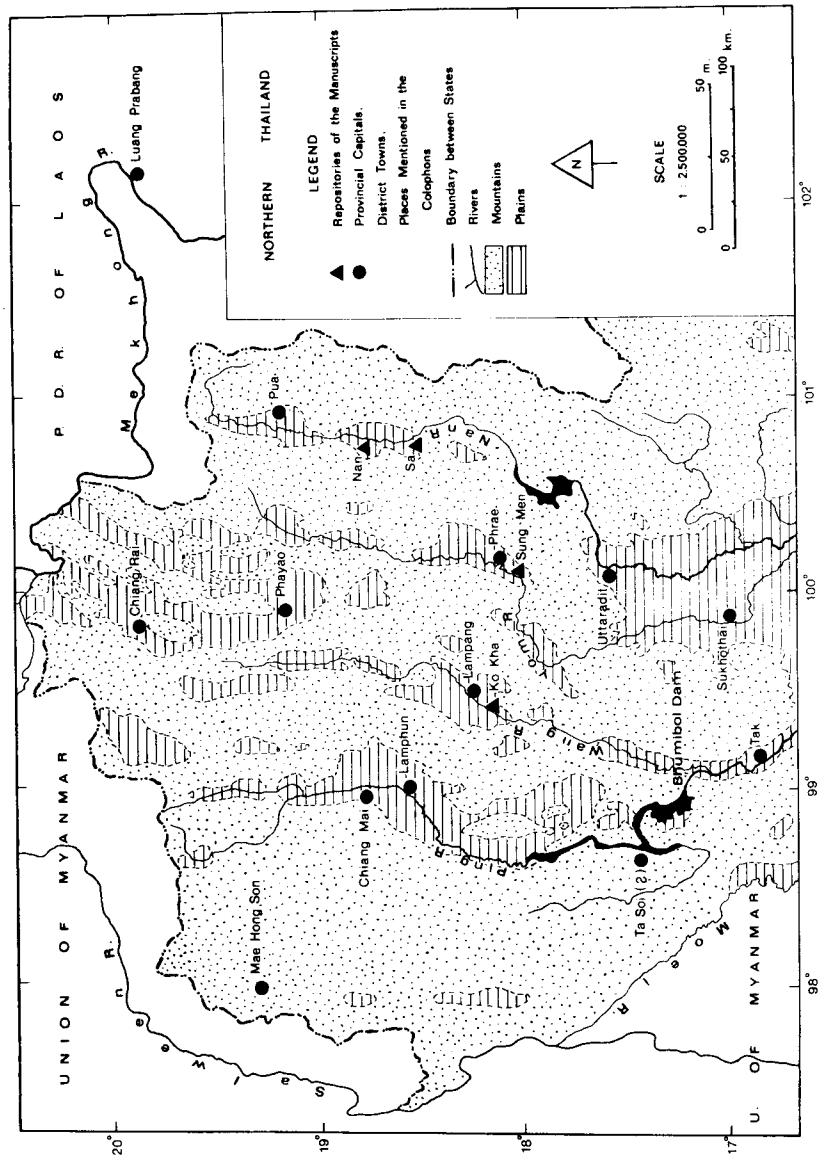
1. For the edition of the Colophons the Transliteration System as introduced in HUNDIUS 1990 (pp. 215 foll) is used. Its main features are explained in Part B, 1.1, below.
2. For phonematic transcriptions the system introduced by Mary R. Haas (see HAAS 1964 [for Central Thai], 1958 [for Northern Thai]; see Bibliography) is used, with some minor modifications stated in Part B, 1.2.
3. Names of persons, places and monasteries etc., as well as official titles and ranks mentioned in the colophons, when referred to in the translation or in the main text, are generally given in transliteration, however, in a simplified version of the system mentioned above (1.; for details see B, 1.1.2., § 18).
4. Commonly known names of persons, monasteries, towns or other

geographical places are referred to in a broad phonetically oriented transcription known as "General System" (s. JSS, 33, 1941, pp. 49 foll). Official or widely used orthography in forms like Luang Prabang, Vientiane, Chulalongkorn, etc. is maintained. (When deemed helpful for verification, phonematic notation in accordance with the pronunciation in modern Central as well as Northern Thai has been added). Likewise, Romanized spellings of personal names are, if known, given in the form used or preferred by their holders.

5. A number of Pāli and Sanskrit words and special terms, e.g. Buddhasāsana ("Buddha's Teachings"), Nibbāna (Skt: "Nirvāṇa"), peta ("hungry ghost"), aksara ("character, letter") etc. are written in accordance with commonly used Romanization.

List of Abbreviations* and Signs

AD	Anno Domini (Christian Era)
BE	Buddhist Era (Christian Era + 543)
c.	century (Christian Era)
clf	classifier
CPD	A Critical Pāli Dictionary (begun by V. Trenckner, 1924–48)
CS	Cūlasakarāja ("Little Era" = Christian Era minus 638)
CT	Central Thai (Siamese, Standard Thai)
Dc no	Documentation number, i.e. Item-Number in: Hundius (1976b; Verzeichnis der auf Mikrofilm erfaßten literarischen Dokumente aus Nordthailand [1972–1974]).
don	donor (of a manuscript)
foll	following
ms no	manuscript number (as recorded on microfilm)
n.d.	no date
no no.	no number (i.e. palm-leaf folio without pagination on the microfilm)
NT	North(ern) Thai (Tai Yuan, Kam Müang, Lan Na Thai)
P	Pāli
p.	number of palm-leaf page(s) as recorded on microfilm
p.	page
r	recto
r.	reigned
Skt	Sanskrit
spp	sponsor or supporter (of the making of a manuscript)
v	verso



* Abbreviations of names of Pāli works are those used in the CPD, as are the numbers attached to the Pāli titles which refer to the categorization used in that work. If those numbers are put in square brackets, the respective text is not mentioned in the CPD.

NB: a number (usually 1–5) following a palm-leaf page no. refers to the line, an attached "a", "b", "c" to the section thereof.

The following signs have been used:

- || transliteration
- // phonematic transcription
- () illegible or difficult to read (on the microfilm)
- [] supplements by me
- { } deletions suggested by me; also used with parts of proper names which appear to be used merely or predominantly as epitheta ornantia and may therefore not be taken as parts of the genuine names.

PART A : INTRODUCTION

1. Background: The Sources.

1.1 The Pāli Tradition of Northern Thailand in an Historical Perspective.

The subject of this study is "colophons", short paragraphs written by the scribes in their native language, Northern Thai, as an accompaniment to the main text which is written in Pāli. Engraved on palm-leaves, they have survived the tide of the times, sometimes under preciously gilded wooden covers and wrapped in faded silk, hidden in huge wooden caskets, in well over 3,000 monastic libraries scattered throughout the eight northernmost provinces of Thailand.

Taken from a selection of Pāli manuscripts, the "Holy Scriptures" or "Dhamma Texts" of the Theravāda School of Buddhism, among these some of the oldest known manuscripts from Southeast Asia that have come down to us, the colophons offer glimpses of a distant past, dating back to half a millennium ago.

It was a time of religious zest: Lan Na, the Tai Yuan kingdom established by King Mangrai in the 13th c., had been consolidated and reached a high level of prosperity and cultural blossoming. After a time of intensive scholarly exchange with Singhalese-reform Buddhism, in the 15th–16th c. a number of learned Lan Na monks had emerged as masters of Pāli, the holy language of the Southern Buddhist tradition. Such was their mastery that they were not only able to translate the huge corpus of Buddhist Scriptures from Pāli into the vernacular language, Northern Thai, but were also able to produce scholarly as well as literary works of their own.

During this period, while numerous texts belonging to the Theravāda tradition were copied from foreign sources, the script that had come to be used for Pāli texts was adapted to be used for writing Northern Thai (NT), as well.¹ It is this type of script, the "Lan Na Dhamma Script" or /túa muaŋ/, as it is generally called by its users, which came to be the

¹ The earliest dated evidence of the Lan Na Dhamma Script used for writing a vernacular Northern Thai text that has been identified to date, inscribed on the base of a Buddha Image kept at Wat Chiang Man (NT |Wad Jiān "Hman|, /wāt ciāŋ māŋ/), Chiang Mai, dates from AD 1465 (CS 827). It comprises two short lines (mentioning the names of Buddhist dignitaries who supported the casting of the Buddha Image, and the name of the laywoman-sponsor) which are preceded by two lines written in Pāli. Cf. Penth 1976:55 foll.

main media of written communication from the 16th–17th century until well into the middle of the 20th century.²

Through this script, the promulgation of the Buddhadhamma was greatly enhanced: the canonical works were disseminated in bilingual (Pāli-NT) versions called |woohaar| (/woohān/)*, and this in turn gave rise to a huge literary production, drawing upon local as well as foreign themes and plots. In fact, the bulk of the Lan Na literary heritage, religious as well as secular, has come down to us through the "Lan Na Dhamma script".³

A certain part of the Lan Na literary tradition, however, continued to be copied in the original monolingual Pāli versions. These were mainly canonical texts or those connected indirectly with the Tipiṭaka, as well as a number of scholarly works used for study purposes. Furthermore, Pāli was chosen as the medium of several works composed by Lan Na scholars: among these commentaries and subcommentaries on canonical and post-canonical texts, treatises on cosmology, religious chronicles and treatises on Pāli grammar.⁴

It is to this Pāli tradition of Lan Na that the thirty manuscripts included in the present study belong. They cover a period in history of well over four centuries: the earliest dating back to the turn of the 15th–16th century, the "Golden Age" of Pāli Literature, when Lan Na, as an

² Two other scripts have been used for Northern Thai in the past. The first, called |Fak Khaam| ("Tamarind-Pod"), a derivation of a contemporary Sukhothai script, which appears to have been used solely for epigraphy, is documented in inscriptions dating mostly from the 15th–16th c. The second type, previously called |Khōqm Müüāñ| (khōqm muāŋ/) by such scholars as Singha Wannasai and which is nowadays mostly referred to as |Daiy Nideesi| (/thaj níthēet/), has been used for transmitting a number of works of "classical" Lan Na poetry. Only a good dozen (palm-leaf) manuscripts written in this script have survived, the majority of which date from the first four decades of the 19th c. A facsimile of this alphabet can be found in Notton 1925: plates 21–24.

^{*} Cf. P: *vohāra* "expression, speech".

³ A detailed description can be found in: Hundius 1990:119 foll. This script was also the subject of a study completed in 1981 by Kong Kaeo Wirapracak and Niyada Thasukhon (see Bibliography).

⁴ Cf. Cœdès 1915. A list of thirty Pāli works (not including the Paññāsa-Jātaka or "Fifty Apocryphal Jātakas" also generally ascribed to the Pāli School of Chiang Mai) known or believed to have been written by scholars of the Lan Na tradition is given in: Likhitanonta 1980:71 foll. The Paññāsa-Jātaka has recently been re-edited — on the basis of texts belonging to the Burmese tradition — by the Pāli Text Society. See Jaini 1981, 1983.

independent kingdom, was enjoying a peak of cultural blossoming under King Müang Kāo (r. 1495–1526).

The colophons in four of the eleven holographs originating from this period, state that they were written in 'Daa "Sqqy (NT /tāa sɔɔj/, CT /thāa sɔɔj/; written according to the "General System": Ta Soi), once apparently a centre of Buddhist learning and Pāli studies, the location of which has, up to the present time, withstood scholarly endeavours.*

It can be taken as a reflection of the political history of Lan Na during the following two centuries, rather than an accident, that only very few of the thirty manuscripts under study date from the 17th–18th c.: subjugated under Burmese suzerainty, the population was subjected to incessant warfare, foreign exploitation, and internal rivalries to such an extent that material and psychological preconditions for cultural and literary productivity must have been severely impaired.⁵

The majority of the remaining holographs stem from the early 19th c. when, after throwing off the Burmese yoke through an alliance with Siam, the five principalities of Lamphun, Lampang, Phrae, Nan, and after its reconstruction, Chiang Mai, enjoyed, as vassal states under Siamese suzerainty, far-reaching internal independence and relative prosperity.

An individual to whom special recognition is due for his important part in the quest for literary reconstruction during this time, is a monk named Kañcana Mahāthera, mostly called |Gruu Paa Kañcana| among Northerners, who was probably a native of Phrae. The colophons taken from manuscripts made under Kañcana's aegis, while representing only a tiny part of his heritage, still do convey a glimpse of the political and socio-economic conditions under which this charismatic religious leader exercised his influence far beyond the boundaries of his home principality, over the entire region of Lan Na, and even into the kingdom of Luang Prabang.

The most recent holograph of the collection under study here was

* See, however, Part B, Post-script to 05, Remarks, below.

5 This conclusion may be drawn from the conspicuous scarcity of manuscripts of that period to have so far come to light. The discovery, in 1968, of several caskets of palm-leaf manuscripts hidden in a cave in the present district of Mae Sarieng, the majority dating from the 17th c., also hints in this direction: obviously, the manuscripts had been brought into safety when the Tai Yuan population living in that area became caught in the crossroads of warring Burmese and Tai Yuan troops. Cf. Keyes 1970:232. In fact, 'Daa "Sqqy may also have fallen victim to the turmoils during the Burmese subjugation of Lan Na (cf. v. Hinüber 1988:23).

written in 1869, by the initiative of another important reconstructor of cultural, and especially literary, traditions of the North, viz. Anantaworariththidet who ruled over the principality of Nan from 1853 until 1893. This manuscript may be regarded as one of the last witnesses of the living Pāli tradition of Lan Na before it gradually came to an end in the first half of the 20th century.⁶

Several factors contributed to the decline of Pāli studies in what was once the home of the famous Pāli School of Chiang Mai. Perhaps the most far-reaching were the successful efforts of the Central Government in Bangkok to establish administrative control over the whole country, including the principalities of the North which had become increasingly threatened by British and French Imperialism. These reforms which changed an administrative system that had been in practice since the 15th c., were started during the reign of King Chulalongkorn (r. 1868–1910), and paved the way for the country's development into a modern Nation-State.⁷

As far as religious education, and especially Pāli studies, were concerned, basic changes were introduced as well, culminating, in the first decade of this century, in the reorganization of the Buddhist clergy, and the introduction of a centralized, national monastic education. Consequently, monks from the North were required to study Pāli on the basis of texts belonging to the Siamese tradition, written in a different script, i.e. either Khmer (|Khqom|) or Siamese (Central Thai), and advancement in the Saṅgha, as well as admission to the Buddhist Universities which had been established in the capital, Bangkok, became tied up with the passing of centralized examinations based on those

6 The last major effort to keep alive the scholarly Pāli tradition of the North was undertaken, as it seems, in the twenties and thirties under the leadership of |Gruu Paa Siiwijeey| (/kuu baa siiwīcāj/) [AD 1878–1938], a charismatic Northern Thai monk scholar and fervent preserver of Lan Na literary and cultural traditions who copied a number of Pāli manuscripts by himself, e.g. the *Khuddakanikāya* comprising 16 phuuk, dating from AD 1926. On the gilded "mai hlaap of this neatly written manuscript a colophon is engraved similar to those found on the manuscripts made under |Gruu Paa Kañcana| in the previous century. This manuscript which belongs to the holdings of |Gruu Paa Siiwijeey's| home monastery at a village called /baññ paap/ (Amphoe Li, Lamphun), was one of those used by Singkha Wannasai (1920–1980) for his part in the preparations for the first printed edition of the Lan Na Tipiṭaka completed recently (see below).

7 A detailed account of the politics of reform as pursued in the field of education, is contained in: Wyatt 1969. For the initiatives to expand secular as well as religious education into the provinces, including the North, see especially pp. 234 foll.

texts.⁸

While Northern Thai, despite the gradual introduction since the early twenties of a centralized secular school system based entirely on Central Thai, still remained the common medium of oral, and, at least in the religious sphere, written communication up to the period of World War II, an aggressive "National Unification Policy" enforced during the first years of the war, practically penalizing the study and teaching of Northern Thai language and script, dealt a severe blow to the monasteries of the North in their function as guardians of the literary tradition.⁹

Since that period, an ever decreasing number of people have learned to read and write the Northern Thai script during their customary stay in a monastery. This contrasts with the generations of the previous five or six centuries who had received monastic elementary education based on the study of Northern Thai. Consequently, today it is, above all, the members of the older generation who are still able to read Northern Thai. Among these, only very few can be found who are familiar with ancient manuscripts such as those belonging to the Pāli tradition of Lan Na, which thus have ceased to be copied.

Nowadays, while Northern Thai is still being used in everyday communication by some four million people living in the North, the general trend towards modernization and secular education, together with the overwhelming impact of the centralized national mass media — a process which accelerated tremendously with the implementation of the First National Economic and Social Development Plan in the early sixties — have contributed to its decreasing status in modern society, especially since the written tradition no longer seems to have any relevance for the majority of the younger generation.

Counter-acting this process of decline, however, is an increasing awareness, particularly wide-spread among culturally minded academics and members of the Northern Saṅgha, of the value of the cultural traditions of Lan Na, which are felt to be threatened by the impact of rapid social and economic change brought about during the past two or three decades. The feeling that the heritage of the past is seriously

⁸ See also Gosling 1983:92 foll.

⁹ An impression of the atmosphere of intimidation prevailing in monasteries in Lamphun province can be obtained by reading the brief account given by Singkhā Wannasai (cf. Wannasai 1980:7-9) who relates the occurrence of the burning of Lan Na palm-leaf manuscripts in a number of monasteries in Lamphun and Phrae provinces, as well as the resistance among devout adherents of the Northern tradition against the attempts to enforce the usage of Siamese or "Central Thai" (CT) instead of Lan Na scriptures in the monasteries.

endangered, is increasingly shared by the central authorities.

The constitution of Chiang Mai University, founded in 1964 as the first University outside Bangkok, explicitly states that one of her four basic duties is "to promote and enhance the study and preservation of the cultural heritage of the region". The introduction, in the following years, of teaching courses and research in Northern Thai language and literature, a trend later to be followed by provincial Teachers' Training Colleges, and Cultural Centres, heralds this new attitude.

Concerns about the growing negligence of the regional literary tradition led, again beginning in the early sixties, to increased efforts to preserve this part of the cultural heritage of Lan Na for future generations. A noteworthy example, initiated by the Northern Saṅgha, is the edition of a printed version of the complete Lan Na Tipiṭaka, which was recently accomplished after an effort of 15 years, and with remarkable public support, under the leadership of a Chiang Mai Monastery, in 1988.

1.2 Surveys of Manuscripts and Relevant Research.

1966 saw the completion of a survey of manuscripts in the possession of Northern monastic libraries, focussing on Lamphun province, which had been supported for several years by the Siam Society, Bangkok. The leading scholar responsible for this survey, Acharn Singkhā Wannasai, Lamphun, later contributed substantially to another Project which, funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), aimed at setting up a microfilm collection of manuscripts representative of the indigenous literary tradition. It is from this collection, set up between 1972 and 1974 from manuscripts in some 95 monastic, as well as private, libraries that the thirty manuscripts under study have been drawn.¹⁰

Fortunately, the microfilming of important manuscripts of the Lan Na tradition was to be continued, a few years later, by another project, jointly supported this time by two Japanese organizations, viz. the Toyota

¹⁰ The microfilms, comprising about one thousand titles, are available both in the National Library, Bangkok (since 1974), and at Chulalongkorn University (Department of History, as a donation from the German Foreign Office in 1978/9), Bangkok; Chiang Mai University (Department of Thai, also a donation from the German Government), as well as at the Universities of Kiel and Göttingen, Federal Republic of Germany. A preliminary handlist of the texts contained in the microfilm collection, which include a large number of parallel versions, exists in the form of a computer print-out (see Hundius 1976b) and is available upon request from the author.

Foundation and the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka. This led to the establishment of microfilm documentations which, taken over in 1981 by the newly established Social Research Institute of Chiang Mai University, comprises by now some 4,000 texts, the majority belonging to secular fields of knowledge such as traditional law, customs, astrology, history, medicine, etc. A selection of about a hundred texts written entirely in Pāli is also included.¹¹

Since 1987, another project, aiming at the preservation of manuscripts in situ, that is at local monastic libraries, was started by Chiang Mai University's newly founded "Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture", with support from the German Foreign Office's Cultural Assistance Program. This project, which has been supplemented by a microfilming unit to record valuable manuscripts, will further enrich the source basis for Northern Thai, as well as Pāli, studies in the future.¹²

By making the manuscripts more easily accessible, and also by drawing the attention of scholars from abroad to the rich literary heritage of Northern Thailand, the microfilm projects appear to have motivated Western Pāli scholars once again to turn their interest to the Pāli tradition of this region, thus reviving a field of study which had been left unattended for more than half a century. For it was as early as 1915 that the great French scholar of Southeast Asian Studies, George Cœdès, had given proof of the existence of a significant Pāli tradition in the area of the former Kingdom of Lan Na. His "Note sur les ouvrages pālis composés

¹¹ Part of this microfilm documentation consists of manuscripts first recorded during 1972-1974 (DFG-Collection), which were re-microfilmed because of their special value (nos. 17, 18, 20, 21, 25, and perhaps also 24 of the present study). In addition, the SRI surveys brought to light several previously unknown holographs. Included in the SRI collection is the oldest dated manuscript discovered to date in the North. This manuscript (a copy of parts of the *Jātaka-attakathā-vannanā*), written in AD 1471 (CS 833), is also the second oldest known in Thailand (the oldest one, a copy of the *Sāratthapakāsinī*, dates from AD 1440; see v. Hinüber 1985:3). According to figures mentioned in the printed catalogue of 1986a (Foreword, without pagination), a total of 13,726 phuuk comprising 3,694 texts, including an unknown number of parallel versions, had been photographed, as of March, 1986, on 145 reels of microfilm. In the meantime, they have increased, as Acharn Phanphen Khruathai (M.A.) kindly informs me (May, 1989), by an additional twenty reels. The titles of the texts recorded, together with some basic additional data covering the contents of 145 reels, have been published in successive inventory lists or short catalogues (see Social Research Institute [ed.] 1986a-b).

¹² Since recording work began, in November 1987, some 200 reels have been microfilmed (as of May, 1989). In this project, which is scheduled to continue until September 1991, Northern Thai and Pāli manuscripts are classified and microfilmed separately, which will considerably facilitate working with the texts.

en pays thai", despite being outdated now in some respects, has remained a basic source for the study of this subject until today.¹³

Ten years thereafter, Cœdès edited and translated parts of two important works mentioned in his earlier article, viz. the *Cāmādevivarīsa* and the *Jinakālamāli*, two religious chronicles compiled by Northern Thai monk-scholars in the 15th and 16th centuries, respectively.

When reading the editor's notes today, one is left wondering why Cœdès, who undoubtedly had access to Northern Thai, based his edition solely on "Southern", i.e. Siamese, sources without even mentioning the existence (or non-existence) of a single Northern Thai manuscript. His main sources in fact were versions printed in Siamese script which were checked with one manuscript each. These, as may be assumed, were written in "Khqom", i.e. a variant of the Khmer script which was customarily used for the transmission of Pāli texts in Siam until the end of the 19th c.¹⁴

The question will probably never be answered; yet in the light of evidence gained in the early 70s, the assumption may be not too far-fetched that Cœdès did not at all deliberately discard Northern Thai manuscripts, but that this omission rather reflects the unavailability at that time of Northern Thai manuscripts at the National Library in Bangkok, or its predecessor, the Wachirayan (Vajirāñāna) Library. This assumption at least would fit in with observations made in 1971/72, when, during preparations for the Project "Documentary Collection of Northern Thai Manuscripts", a survey was made at the National Library, Bangkok, on Pāli works known or believed to have originated in Northern Thailand. The survey led to the conclusion that a considerable number of such titles could be located. What was striking, however, was the discovery that only versions written in "Khqom" script could be found, but not a single one in Northern Thai script.

In this context, it may be worth mentioning that, according to

¹³ See Cœdès 1915.

¹⁴ See Cœdès 1925. According to remarks made by the editor, a lot of misprints and other errors had to be corrected, a task which benefitted substantially from the collation with the manuscripts mentioned above, thereby giving early proof of the fact to be observed ever since, that printed editions of Pāli texts in Thailand have to be used with considerable reservation and care. Cœdès, in 1966, made yet another important contribution to Pāli studies by writing a catalogue of Pāli (and Northern Thai) manuscripts in the possession of the Royal Library of Copenhagen (for details, see Bibliography).

Northern Thai oral history, several boat-loads of Northern Thai manuscripts were taken to Bangkok from monasteries in Lamphun in the late 18th or early 19th c. It was presumed that they were to be used for the restoration of the Buddhist scriptures which had been lost since the devastation of Ayutthaya, the former capital of Siam, by Burmese armies in 1767.¹⁵

No enquiries have been made about this event up to the present time; the whereabouts of the manuscripts remain an enigma, but it can at least be surmised, judging from the existence of numerous copies of Northern Thai works written exclusively in "Khǫqm" script, that they at least served their purpose before being allowed to pass into oblivion.¹⁶

It thus seems justified to draw the conclusion that factors related to cultural policy may have been decisive in preventing Cœdès, who worked in the archives of the capital during a time of "Nationbuilding", from getting hold of any direct witnesses of the Pāli texts of Northern Thai origin he studied and edited. Incidentally, this situation has remained basically unchanged, as it seems, until today: conspicuously, not a single one of a good dozen studies on, or editions of, Pāli texts from the Northern Thai tradition undertaken by Thai scholars during the past few decades made use of a Northern Thai manuscript.¹⁷

It seems that factors related to politics were decisive in preventing the "discovery" of the Northern Thai literary heritage including its Pāli components, in yet another instance in history, when it was at the brink of arousing the attention of European scholars, once again in the second decade of this century.

It was a compatriot of George Cœdès, namely Louis Finot, who, in

15 Verbal communication by Singha Wannasai in February 1972 who referred to information handed down through generations by the monk community of Wat San Ton Thong (NT /วัด san tōn thop/), Lamphun (situated some 2km to the SW of the present city of Lamphun, on the way to Pasang). In 1786, a Council was convened in Bangkok with the aim of reassembling and reestablishing the Pāli canon. It took a whole century until the first printed version of the canon could appear. For details see v. Hinüber 1983:75.

16 Prof. v. Hinüber has drawn my attention to the fact that a certain number of Northern Thai manuscripts found their way to Japan in the 19th c. as a gift by King Chulalongkorn; possibly at least some of these might belong to the above-mentioned ones which are not traceable at present.

17 For details see v. Hinüber 1987a. The studies referred to are predominantly unpublished Master's degree theses. Written in Thai, they have remained unaccessible to scholars of Pāli in the West. As far as texts included in our collection of 30 are concerned, hints about studies and editions of Pāli literature undertaken by Thai scholars are given in the "Remarks" to the colophons.

1917, published a monograph entitled "Recherches sur la littérature laotienne". In this study mention is made and comments given on a considerable number of texts, the titles of which were, during the DFG Research Project, discovered to belong, in fact, to the literary tradition of Lan Na. Enquiries and surveys pursued in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Vientiane, and the Bibliothèque Royale, Luang Prabang, in 1974, pointed to the fact that Finot, in his study of 1917, had actually included genuine Lan Na manuscripts (examples of which, due to centuries of cultural exchange and co-operation, had been kept at those libraries) without, however, identifying them as such.¹⁸

The Pāli manuscripts from Northern Thailand thus had to wait for another 65 years until a German Pāli scholar, Professor Oskar von Hinüber, drew attention to them. O. v. Hinüber was able to give proof of the pre-eminent importance of the Pāli tradition of Northern Thailand for Pāli studies by showing, to mention one example, that ancient manuscripts from this region have preserved grammatical forms which, in the traditions of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, have been lost due to later recensions by learned monks whose alterations have created puzzles and problems unexplainable from the point of view of historical linguistics.¹⁹ Yet the fact that a certain number of Pāli texts known to have been recorded on microfilm for over a decade, such as those included in this study, have not been classified until today, clearly reflects the present state of research.

However, in view of the increasingly accessible number of Pāli manuscripts belonging to the Lan Na tradition, and the increase in scholarly interest, prospects are certainly encouraging. The present study, by editing, translating, and commenting on colophons, written in the vernacular language, of Pāli manuscripts from Northern Thailand, will hopefully contribute to paving the way for further studies on these important sources.

18 My earlier assumption that Finot's sources might have been Laotian versions, or adaptations, of these texts could be refuted when it was found that a number of the texts in question bore inventory numbers of the École Française d'Extrême Orient identical with the numbers given in Finot's study. (For details see Hundius 1976b).

19 For details on the results of research done during the past six years, emphasizing the importance of the Lan Na tradition for the study of canonical texts and our knowledge of Pāli, see various articles written by O. v. Hinüber since 1983; for instance an article concerning the oldest known manuscript of the *Milindapañha* (= 04 of the present article), and the history of the Pāli language as reflected in the manuscript tradition of Southeast Asia. Cf. v. Hinüber 1987a, 1988.

2. Subject, Aims and Scope of the Study.

The thirty Pāli manuscripts under study here are, as indicated above, all taken from the microfilm collection "Literature from Northern Thailand" set up during research undertaken in 1972–1974 (DFG-collection; see HUNDIUS [1976b]). As implied by the title, this project focussed on indigenous Northern Thai literature; nevertheless, a total of forty-eight texts written entirely in Pāli were included in the documentation as well, due to their exceptional importance.

First of all, some of these texts represent the oldest manuscripts that have survived, not only in the North, but in the whole of Thailand and Southeast Asia. Others represent works of Southeast Asian origin, including several that have been composed by scholars from Lan Na. Finally, a number of manuscripts were microfilmed because of their rarity or because they contained previously unknown texts.

Eighteen titles out of the total of forty-eight Pāli texts were identified, during a survey of the microfilms in 1976–1977, as belonging to a special category of texts used in Buddhist rituals and ceremonies, including "magic chantings". These texts, called *|suum mon|* in Northern Thai, have been in use for everyday religious practice through the centuries and can be found at virtually each and every monastery in the North. Since they constitute a group of their own, often consisting of rather short texts with equally brief colophons, it was decided to exclude them from the present study.²⁰

The texts called *|suum mon|* and *|gaathaa aagom|* ("magic chantings") left apart, the thirty Pāli manuscripts under study here represent the complete sub-group of Pāli works included in the DFG collection of 1972–74 (See, however, Remarks to no. 26, Part B, below). It may be of interest here to take a brief look at the composition, with regard to their origin and content, of this sample of the Pāli tradition of Lan Na. Included are

- (1) ancient specimens of canonical or semi-canonical texts (e.g. nos. 08, 11; 04), as well as
- (2) texts which are either directly or indirectly connected with the *Tipiṭaka* (e.g. 01, 02, 03, 05, 06, 07).
- (3) Works of the Southeast Asian Pāli tradition are represented by nos.

²⁰ This category of texts, the majority of which can be affiliated with the "Paritta" genre, should be made the subject of a special study. For some relevant bibliographical data, see v. Hinüber 1987a:13.

- (4) 12, 20 and 21, 23, possibly including nos. 09, 10.
- (4) Works composed by scholars from Lan Na or those generally ascribed to this tradition, are represented by 15 and 16, 17 and 18, 19, 24, 27 and 28.
- (5) Three works are of as yet unknown origin: nos. 22 (*Lokasanthāna*), 25 (*Vaṇīsamālinī*), as well as 29 and 30 (*Paramatthavibhūsanī*), but may also be surmised to be of Southeast Asian origin, especially no. 25.²¹

As far as their content is concerned, the thirty Pāli manuscripts under study here include

- (1) Scholarly works (e.g. 09, 10, 12, 26, 29 and 30), among these an ancient copy of a famous Pāli grammar written by a Burmese scholar in the 12th c. (*Saddanīti* [12]), as well as a treatise on Pāli metre written by a Singhalese monk, which exerted a strong influence on the poetic tradition of Thailand and neighbouring countries (Saṅgharakkhita's *Vuttodaya* [26]).
- (2) Lan Na's contribution to cosmological Pāli literature is exemplified by Sirimāngala's *Cakkavāḍipani* (Nos. 15 and 16; possibly also by no. 22 [*Lokasanthāna*] which is of as yet unknown origin).
- (3) Literature pertaining to the political and religious history of the region is represented by two works composed in the 15th c. by Bodhirāmī, probably a native of Lamphun, viz. *Cāmadevivāṇa*, the "Chronicle of Nāñ Caamadeewii", the legendary founder of the ancient kingdom of Haripūñjaya (nos. 17 and 18), and the *Buddhasihiṅga-Nidāna*, the chronicle of a highly revered Buddha Image called Buddha-Sihiṅga, believed to have been brought to Chiang Mai from Ceylon and enshrined at Wat Phra Singh, Chiang Mai.
- (4) Last, but not least, the most popular literary genre among Buddhist Thai peoples is also represented, i.e. narrative literature, above all the Jātakas (nos. 03, 05, 06, 07), including the most popular of these, the *Vessantarajātaka* (13, 14, 19), and also including an example of the non-canonical Jātaka tradition, the *Mahā-Sivijayajātaka* (nos. 27, 28), and the *Dhammapada-Attikathā* (01, 02).²²

²¹ Cf. Remarks to 25, below.

²² It may be worth mentioning here that the non-canonical Jātaka tradition of Lan Na

It thus may be said that the thirty manuscripts included in our study can be regarded as a representative cross-section of the Pāli tradition of Northern Thailand both with regard to their origin, and their content. It is hoped that the present study will contribute to attracting more interest in the Pāli tradition of Northern Thailand by making accessible the vernacular colophons of the thirty selected manuscripts.

The original purpose of the present study was to make available the information contained in the vernacular colophons of important Pāli manuscripts from the Lan Na tradition to scholars of the Pāli language and Southeast Asian Buddhism, who may not be able to read Northern Thai.

Apart from this original purpose, however, when working with the colophons, it soon became clear that these texts also deserve considerable interest as historical sources in their own right.²³ Covering a period of almost four centuries, the oldest dating from the same period (late 15th century) from which the earliest known epigraphical sources written in Northern Thai have come down to us, they contain valuable data for future studies of the development of the Northern Thai language and script. As written messages from the scribes to the reader, the colophons also contain valuable material for the study of social and religious history; not only concerning Buddhism and the beliefs associated with the making of manuscripts, and the aspirations attached to "meritorious deeds" of this kind, but also concerning social, and, to a certain extent, economic relations between those involved.

In view of the above-mentioned situation, where Northern Thai studies are still in their initial stage, and hardly any primary sources are available in the form of editions, it seems advisable to present the material in such a way that it will be of benefit to different groups of readers. Therefore, the colophons are presented in three different forms:

(1) in transliteration,

has remained productive up to the present time. Most of the recent creations, written in Northern Thai, are adaptations from works written in the Shan States. About twenty examples which include works written by Singkha Wannasai in the seventies, have been included in the microfilm collection.

23 Incidentally, it was an Indologist, as it seems, who first drew attention to this fact, when searching for vestiges of the ancient Pāli tradition of Thailand. Cf. v. Hinüber 1987a, 1988. Also, the first transliterations of Northern Thai colophons are to be found in his "Short catalogue of Pāli manuscripts kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok" (1987a).

- (2) in phonematic transcription,
- (3) in translation.

A few remarks are necessary to explain the reasons for rendering the texts in both transliteration and phonematic transcription. Transliteration and phonematic transcription serve two different groups of potential users: the first is for those who focus on the written text, the second is directed at those whose point of departure is the spoken language.

ad 1:

The transliteration system used here was developed on the basis of a detailed study of the phonological and the writing system of Northern Thai.²⁴ It has been specifically designed to cope with the particular problems posed by this kind of source material.

The basic situation is characterized by the fact that a structurally monosyllabic, tonal language is written by means of a script designed for the transmission of texts composed in an Indo-European language (Pāli) with a widely different phoneme inventory. While Lan Na scholars of the past succeeded in finding practical solutions to problems arising from these discrepancies, it is difficult to "Romanize" Northern Thai graphemes in a functionally equivalent way.²⁵

In addition to this structural problem, the task of transliterating Northern Thai manuscripts is further complicated by the occurrence of numerous allographic writings and inconsistencies. The number of poly- and homographies sometimes leaves the reader in perplexion, and causes problems not only for the transliterator, but also for the editor of texts in Northern Thai (or Central Thai) script, as well as for lexicographic

24 Cf. Hundius 1990. Out of a variety of introductions into the Northern Thai script that exist, the following may be recommended for beginners: Davis 1970, Phayomyong 1968, Roongruangsri 1984, Wannasai 1975 (unfortunately out of print) and, in printed Northern (and Central) Thai letters, Watcharasat 1985. (For details, see Bibliography).

25 An area particularly illustrative of the difficulties inherent, is the notation of vowels. Northern Thai has more vowel sounds than Pāli, including a number of diphthongs. To represent these additional vocalic sounds, synthetic writings were created by combining graphic elements from the available sign inventory. Grouped around the initial "carrier" consonants, these three-dimensional configurations cannot be Romanized in a corresponding way, but have to be rearranged into linear sequences of symbols. Such an approach is used by scholars who are basing their transliteration of Northern Thai vowels, analogically to that of the consonants, on the Pāli value of each individual element (cf., for instance, Father Schmitt, in: Pavie 1898, H. Penth 1973, O. v. Hinüber 1987a foll); certain Northern Thai vowels are thus represented in the transliteration by a series of up to six letters. For more details, see PART B, 1.1.2.1, § 13, below.

work.²⁶

On the basis of studies of manuscripts from different areas and different periods, done over the past fifteen years, it can be concluded that this phenomenon is caused by different factors which need to be understood in order to deal with the texts in a suitable way.

- (1) Northern Thai orthography does not seem to have ever been fixed into a definite and obligatory, generally accepted system; inconsistencies are rather the rule, since the earliest times from which written documents have survived. In view of the complexity of the writing system, especially where the rendering of vowels and tones is concerned, it can also be surmised that many scribes were not sufficiently competent to understand and maintain a given orthographical standard — which, at any rate, was never explained in an analytical way — and it is a truism to be witnessed all over the world that by mere copying, errors and mistakes are generated.
- (2) Part of the variations in orthographic usage seems to be related to different "schools" or local writing traditions which, like similar conventions elsewhere, are subject to change in the course of time.
- (3) Another category of allographic writings appear to reflect phonetic instability, or indicate an ongoing process of sound change.²⁷
- (4) Furthermore, one has to reckon with exogene interference, as numerous Northern Thai manuscripts were written by Tai speaking people from the Shan States (Khün and Lü from the region of Chiang Tung) or Sip Song Pan Na (Chiang Rung) who had migrated into what is present Northern Thailand during centuries of constant

26 The awareness in Thailand of these problems has grown in recent years, as could be observed during a conference on the transliteration of Northern Thai texts into Central Thai script which was held in Chiang Mai, in November 1987, under the auspices of the newly founded Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture and which was attended by some sixty scholars from all parts of the country.

27 This holds true, for instance, for the "waxing and waning" of vowel length (most affected are the high vowels /i, ii/, and /u, uu/) which can be observed in Northern Thai up to the present and is obviously reflected in an abundance of manuscripts. This is an example where the findings of synchronic linguistics may lead to explanations of patterns of inconsistencies observed in the manuscripts. For more details, see Part B, 1.1, below.

contacts and exchange.²⁸

In view of the complexity of the situation briefly outlined here, it seems advisable, when editing Northern Thai primary sources by means of a transliteration, not to eliminate any evidence, but to keep it available for further analysis; for this evidence can yield valuable information in several areas, namely :

- (1) Information on the strains and schools of the literary tradition will, by helping to identify the writing usage of different times and different places, make it possible, for example, to trace transmission lines of important texts, or to determine the age and origin of literary works.
- (2) Material may be found for studies on the historical development of the language, and the interaction between dialects.
- (3) Historians might find the data helpful when trying to trace demographic migration patterns.
- (4) When the principles of textual criticism are to be applied in editing manuscripts, the allographic evidence found in the witnesses must be thoroughly analyzed in order to be able to identify the "Leitfehler", i.e. significant errors or variant readings which are instrumental for the tracing of transmission lines of codices, their status and their mutual affiliation.
- (5) Last, but not least, the details of the original writings are indispensable for any re-examination of interpretations and translations of the texts. In a situation where considerable numbers of ambiguous writings and inconsistencies must be coped with, and numerous homographies must be interpreted and differentiated in order to identify the semantic substance contained in the text, it is only by ensuring access to the original writing that the interpretation of a given lexeme by the translator can remain open for reconsideration.

The transliteration system used in the present study meets the requirement to preserve evidence contained in the written sources in an economical way (by using index numbers), while making an effort to

28 It is worth mentioning, for example, that the inconsistency in writing and the failure to differentiate between the diphthong /ea/ and its phonetically related monophthong /əə/ is of significantly higher frequency in manuscripts from areas with large numbers of people from Khün and Lü descent (such as large areas in Lamphun, Phayao or Chiang Rai provinces) than in those from districts with predominantly Tai Yuan population: in Khün and Lü ancient /ia, əa, ua/ were monophthongized to /ee, əə, oo/, respectively.

assist the reader in identifying the lexemes.²⁹

ad 2:

As for the phonematic transcription, the system developed by Mary R. HAAS — the one most widely used in Thai Studies — is used in a form adapted to Northern Thai. This will help in making the texts accessible to those who are familiar with the spoken language, especially anthropologists and social scientists.³⁰ Those who do not know Kam Müang, will still be able to identify lexemes which are cognate to Central Thai.

Scholars whose interests rest solely with the written texts, such as Pāli scholars who have no knowledge of Thai, may still appreciate the opportunity to learn how the written forms should be pronounced.

ad 3 :

As for the translations, these endeavour to stay as close as possible to the original. In cases where words have had to be supplemented in order to convey the meaning of the original, square brackets are used, so that translations and originals can be easily compared.

Thus the study will hopefully offer some help and serve as an incentive for those wishing to become involved with written Northern Thai sources in the future.

3. The Colophons.

3.1 The Collection of the Thirty Pāli Manuscripts.

Pāli — extensively used in Buddhist ritual — has always remained a language for scholars in the Buddhist countries of Southeast Asia. The scribe of one of our manuscripts, dating from 1759 (28 [7]), gives expression to this situation in a humorously coloured [galoon] - verse:

"... Pāli words are deep and subtle ...
elusive is their meaning and often difficult to grasp ...
if words are dropped, no hint is given — only Enlightened Ones will
know ...".

29 For details, see Part B, 1.1, below.

30 A useful introduction into spoken Northern Thai is given by Purnell (1962)

It is easy to imagine that the majority of people who volunteered or who were assigned the task of copying Pāli manuscripts did not know Pāli sufficiently well to know exactly what they were writing about. To an even lesser degree were they able to use Pāli as a means of communication.

In Lan Na, it thus became customary to add information pertinent at the time when the manuscript was copied, in the vernacular language, Northern Thai. In a paragraph of one to three lines, sometimes up to one page, the name of the text was given together with information on the time and place where the holograph was written; the identity of the writer, and those who initiated or sponsored the making of it, specific circumstances and motives related to this pious deed, and on the wishes that those involved hoped to see fulfilment as a result of the 'merit' (NT /bun/ < Pāli: puñña) gained. They may also contain information of a technical kind, for the benefit of future readers of the holograph. Finally, there may be passages of a kind that suggest the scribes were giving expression to their own situation, including their emotional state — a feature rather unique to the Northern Thai tradition. These are the 'colophons' on which this study is focussing.

It appears that early scholars of Pāli literature generally dismissed the colophons written in the vernacular languages as inessential. Cœdès (1966), to quote an eminent example, in his catalogue of Pāli, Northern Thai and Siamese (Central Thai) Manuscripts kept at the Royal Library, Copenhagen, gives translations only of the concluding Pāli words which are used to 'seal off' the text proper, contenting himself with giving a summary description of different areas of content that may be expected to be covered in the vernacular colophons, without hinting at the informational value contained in many of them.

Nowadays, however, awareness has grown of the fact that the information contained in colophons can be of considerable importance. This holds true, for example, when manuscripts are evaluated for the editing of texts, especially so when the principles of textual criticism are to be applied.³¹

Furthermore, as far as manuscripts from Northern Thailand are concerned, the colophons also deserve attention as historical sources in their own right. In this respect, the Pāli manuscripts from which the

31 See for instance v. Hinüber (1988: 7) who quotes an example where the editor of the *Samyuttanikāya* (L. Feer in his PTS edition of 1884), by not taking into consideration the information contained in the colophons of a manuscript that he used, overlooked a clear indication of the special importance of this source.

colophons presented in this study are taken, emerge as a special group due to their age and quality.

About half of them are dated from or can, in the case of four torsis, be attributed with a high degree of certainty to the 15th–16th centuries, an historical epoch when Lan Na — at that time still an independent kingdom — enjoyed a period of religious zest and cultural blossoming. The oldest among them thus bear witness to an important stage of Lan Na history, a period, however, from which written documents are rare and were, until not too long ago, understood to have survived exclusively in the form of epigraphy.³² The majority of the remaining manuscripts date from the middle of the 19th century, a time when, after more than two and a half centuries of war and internal unrest under Burmese domination, conditions once again became more conducive to cultural concerns, and literary traditions were revived with renewed zest.

3.2 Content of the Colophons.

In the following section, cultural and historical evidence contained in the colophons of the thirty Pāli manuscripts under study, will be considered.

3.2.1 The Purpose and Organization of Making Dhamma Manuscripts.

In the colophons the impression is conveyed that the Dhamma scriptures are, indeed, accorded a central place in Northern Thai Buddhist tradition and ritual. The belief is illustrated that, if Buddhism is to be kept alive, the basic texts must be copied continually.

"Written ... in support of the Excellent Teachings of Buddha so that they may stay for five thousand years ... " (15 [6])

is a motive which is, in one form or another, mentioned in most of the manuscripts.

In the case of our Pāli texts, the making of a holograph is very often initiated by a senior member of the Saṅgha. The manuscript is made either by using monastic funds (cf. 03; 05) or by joining with a lay-person wishing to make a donation. As the colophons show, in the early 19th

³² See A 1, p. 1, footnote 1, *supra*.

century, the making of a manuscript was often a huge cooperative effort involving a monastic initiator (|muulasaddhaa, pathamamuulasaddhaa| or |"gau saddhaa|)*, a 'leading lay supporter' (NT/Pāli: |upathambhaka| or |paccaiyadaayaka, °daayikaal|) from the lay community, often a dignitary (up to the Rulers of Nan and Phrae, as well as the King of Luang Prabang), and 'all the members of the lay community'. Women donors, however, as is interesting to note, are usually identified in reference to their husbands, uncles, or — in one case — to their father.

The colophons do not give details on the preparation of the palm-leaves used for manuscripts.³³ Writing, or to be more precise, the engraving of manuscripts, was usually organized in such away that individual members of the monastery or the lay community, in general former monks or novices, were asked to copy a 'phuuk' (fasciculus), or several 'phuuk', each.

Obviously, it was a great honour — but at the same time an onerous task, and some degree of persuasion, or "social pressure" seem to have been applied. There is also evidence showing that a remuneration has been paid to the scribes.³⁴ In some cases, an individual monk or abbot explicitly states that he did the writing all by himself; such statements convey the feeling of special responsibility on the part of the scribe, and, at the same time, may be taken as an indication of the importance, and the quality of the work.

Evidence contained in the colophons thus leads to the conclusion that certain individuals played a special role in initiating and organizing the task, in motivating both the monastic and lay communities to cooperate in the making of manuscripts.

3.2.2 Making Manuscripts as a Means to Acquiring Merit.

There are constant references in the colophons showing that those involved in the making of 'Dhamma scriptures' — as initiator, sponsor, or scribe — could expect certain benefits in terms of their own balance of

* Cf. the Pāli term *ādikammasādhaka*

³³ For the technique of preparing palm-leaves, see Schuyler, in: JAOS, 29, 1908, pp. 281–283.

³⁴ In our sources, a monetary reward |'gaa müü|, is mentioned in two manuscripts only (29, 30), both written in AD 1869. The earliest evidence of a remuneration paid for the copying of manuscripts known up to now have been found in several colophons from the 16th c., published by v. Hinüber 1987a. For details, see below, p. 44, footnote 42. See also v. Hinüber (forthcoming) for more data on financial and economical aspects of the making of palm-leaf manuscripts.

'bun' (< P *puñña*) and 'kam' (< P *kamma*), merit and demerit.³⁵

"May the writing of this Dhamma [manuscript] help to give support to myself until I eventually reach Nibbāna" (28 [12])

is how one of our scribes expresses his hopes. In many cases these wishes are extended to cover close relatives: parents, brothers and sisters and — in one case — even teachers (15 [8]). One of the colophons written in Luang Prabang illustrates, in an imaginative way, the belief, also common in Northern Thailand, that merit can be transferred to the deceased as well (19 [4]).

3.2.3 Aspirations for Results of Merit

The wish most often mentioned in the colophons is for the "Three Kinds of Happiness, the ultimate goal being Nibbāna" (see, for instance, 26 [1]) which means that the scribe asks for happiness during his present, and future lives in the World of Man (|mūūāñ gon|), in the Heavenly Worlds (|mūūāñ "faa|), as well as during his eventual stay in the 'World of Nibbāna' (|mūūāñ nibbaan|), the 'Place of Immortality', which is perceived as the ultimate goal.³⁶

Apart from this, many scribes also make wishes further specified. These often include progress on the path of moral development as denoted by Buddhist terms like attaining the *Magga-phala* (27 [2]) or "Path-Fruition"; being reborn with the consciousness of the "Three Noble Root Conditions" (27, [1]); or to be rewarded with the "Mundane" and Supermundane States" (08 [5]). Intelligence and wisdom — both in worldly and spiritual contexts — are also among the aspirations stated in several instances. Wishes for good health and "not to be reborn as a poor man" (27 [1], dating from AD 1759) rather represent an exception.

What strikes the contemporary reader is the preponderance of spiritual and intellectual over material wishes that find expression in the

³⁵ Two particular texts, copies of which abound in the monasteries of the North, called |aanisoñ "saai dhamm| ("The Benefits of Making [or Donating] Dhamma Manuscripts"), and |aanisoñ khiaar dhamm| ("The Benefits of Writing Dhamma Manuscripts") illustrate in detail the rewards which can be expected in future lives, by actively contributing to the making of Dhamma manuscripts.

³⁶ I am indebted to Hnaan Buntha Siphimchai, a longtime monk of a Chiang Mai monastery, for this information which is well confirmed also in literary sources such as |Gaddhanaama-Jaataka| (longer version).

colophons: this seems to hold true for both lay-men and members of the Saṅgha, for men and women alike. Any distinction on the basis of the wishes expressed appears to be impossible, judging from our sources.

One factor accounting for this remarkable degree of consensus may be that the majority, if not all, of the scribes shared the same educational background, and had undergone a period of life in a monastery. Those among them who were not members of the Saṅgha at the time of writing the manuscripts can usually be identified, by the terms |hnaan| or |"nqoy| preceding their names, as being former monks or novices.³⁷ They may not have renounced material aspirations altogether, but may have curbed them and in any case, may have come to understand that they belong to a different plane.³⁸

3.2.4 Social Aspects of the Making of Manuscripts.

With regard to the distribution of work, on the one hand, and benefits, on the other, the colophons reveal an interesting pattern: in the making of manuscripts, lay-men and members of the Saṅgha, commoners and members of the nobility co-operate closely for a common cause. They may contribute in various ways, by helping to prepare or provide the writing material, by being a full-fledged 'sponsor', which included the procuring of payment (kēe kāa mae) for the scribes, by doing the writing itself, or by initiating and helping to organize the task, like the 'leading monastic supporters' as they are called in the colophons — yet there is no indication to be found of any tendency to differentiate the value of these different contributions in correlation to the merit acquired.

Focussing on the manual task of engraving the letters into the palm-leaves, the custom of dividing up each work into separate 'phuuk' or fasciculi to be written by different people deserves attention, since it is a way of sharing both the burden and the benefits, in terms of 'merit' and

³⁷ Correspondingly, Northern Thai has a special expression to denote male grown-ups who have never received ordination, as a Bhikkhu or a Sāmañera, and spent some time in a monastery, as "raw men" (khon dip).

³⁸ In an anthropological study of present-day Thai society, the suggestion is made that everyday concerns, like securing "good fortune" and "protection", are generally dealt with on the plane of spirits (cf. Mulder 2.1985:40, and *passim*). In fact, numerous indications can be found in Thai literature which appear to be in line with such an interpretation; see for instance Sunthon Phu's travel poems, in particular his *Nirat Müang Kläng*, composed in 1807. Cf. Hundius 1976a: 50 (stanza 5); 51 (stanza 17); 54 (stanza 54), and *passim*.

social recognition. It appears as a remarkable way of giving members of all social strata, including the farming population (but with the exception of the slaves, as may be assumed) an opportunity to cooperate directly in the most noble task of preserving the second part of the Triple Gem, the Dhamma, and thereby relate to it in a most intimate way — even though most of the scribes may not have understood the meaning of the words they were copying.

3.2.5 The Colophons as Media of Communication and Personal Expression.

It is one of the conspicuous features of the Lan Na tradition and, needless to say, extremely helpful for research — that the vast majority of the manuscripts are precisely dated, as well as marked with their place of origin. This can not be taken for granted: an exactly and reliably dated manuscript is not at all common, for example, in Northeast Thailand, Laos, or the Shan States. Obviously, the Northern Thai custom of adding such personal notes in Northern Thai language to the Dhamma texts contributed directly to the high frequency with which such information about time and origin of a manuscript have been recorded by the scribes since ancient times.

Reading the colophons, with their often meticulous way of rendering the day and time when the writing was completed, often in accordance to three different calendrical systems (see, for instance, the colophons of our manuscript nos. 29, 30, written in Nan) one cannot help feeling that this was considered an historical moment by the writer. The wording frequently conveys a feeling of elevation the scribe may have experienced for having part in their production. In the simple style of colloquial Northern Thai, or in humorously elaborated verse form (cf. 28 [7, 8]), many of our colophons manage to preserve the mood which prevailed at the moment when their writers' task was accomplished: be it the joyous mood of "spreading loving-kindness among the villagers", the happiness of having spent Lent with a meritorious task in a monastery of special charm, or the solitary feeling in a remote area, inundated by the August rains which inspired one of our scribes to compose a poetical line: they definitely invest the holographs with a personal dimension. We can virtually see the farmer in his bamboo hut, in the light of a small oil lamp, engraving the letters on to the palm-leaf pages (cf. 30 [1]); and even though this is only mentioned to explain why the writing is not as neat and regular as it should be, the scribe, through his association with the Dhamma text, nevertheless manages to transcend the narrow limits of his

own life.

Obviously, the opportunity to leave a personal mark in the Dhamma text and to link one's own name to it and thus save it from the law of impermanence "as long as palm-leaves last", must have functioned as an emotional reward, or compensation, for the painstaking effort of writing it.³⁹ At the same time, this phenomenon might be seen as just another strain of the well-known tendency in Northern Thai culture favouring personal expression, for which courting dialogues in narrative literature, as well as the former custom of /ʔew sǎaw/ with its extemporizing exchange of witty courting verses between the younger people of either sex, bear ample evidence.⁴⁰

3.2.6 Remarks Pertaining to the Quality of the Copying Work.

The colophons, which reflect the specific situation at the time the writing of a manuscript was accomplished, naturally were the most suitable medium to carry information for the use of the prospective reader of the holograph.

In the present context, remarks pertaining to the quality of the manuscript deserve special attention. Scribes who were not very familiar with the Pāli language or the system of writing Pāli texts were of course aware of possible mistakes and errors in their copying work and, therefore, frequently admonish the reader that the text should be used attentively and with a critical attitude since there might be inaccuracies due to the writer's limited knowledge.

Although some of the latter remarks may be motivated by a tendency to make understatements, which is a common feature of traditional politeness in Thailand, it would certainly not be wise to discard all of them as mere 'polite formulas'. For there are also a number of scribes who

³⁹ This may also explain why this custom has survived to the present: most notebook copies of Northern Thai manuscripts, made in 1972–1974, were closed with the exact time (hour, day, month, year, etc) when the copy of any one phuuk was completed, and by such small personal notes. Examples can also be found in contemporary printed editions of Northern Thai literature; see, for instance Singkhawannasai's epilogue in his edition of the classical Lan Na poem *|Mañdharaa maarop Jiaan 'Hmai|* (Wannasai 1979).

⁴⁰ Examples can be found in Roongruangsri 3.1981. In this context, it may also be recalled that the genre of the travel poetry (*nirat*) which is unique in classical Thai literature for its personal character, is believed to have originated in Lan Na, where it has remained highly popular as a literary genre until today.

imply that their text may be used with confidence since "Monk X wrote it all by himself", and in quite a few colophons it is explicitly stated that the text had been thoroughly checked with the original (see, for instance, 15 [5]; 23 [5]; [10]). In some cases, even details of the time and place of origin of the original are given. In a number of manuscripts stemming obviously from one and the same scribe (05, 07, 08), after finishing the laborious work of copying a phuuk of a Pāli work, rather harsh exhortations are given to future users:

"... whoever takes [this manuscript out for] worship, ... do not add any writing on it, do not [try to] make any corrections; if [you do] not follow [my advice, you will] be [reborn as] a *peta* ("hungry ghost"). After worship, see to it that it is brought back again quickly, [for] hard work it was, indeed, to make it; so do take good care!" (05 [2]).

3.2.7 Evidence on Historical Personalities and Places.

3.2.7.1 The Venerable Gruu Paa Kañcana from Phrae.

Eight of the most valuable and rare Pāli manuscripts under study here refer to a senior monk, the Venerable Gruu Paa Kañcana, probably a native of Phrae. Belonging to the "Forest-dwelling" (*Araññavāsin*) group of the Theravādins whose members follow stricter rules of monastic discipline, this monk-scholar became, in the course of time, a highly charismatic religious leader whose fame spread throughout the entire Lan Na region, and well beyond into the Laotian Kingdom of Luang Prabang.

By his initiative and under his leadership, his home monastery, [Aaraam 'Suuñ "Hmeer] (today: Wat Sung Men), rose to become a centre of Pāli and Buddhist studies. Manuscripts were systematically collected and numerous copying campaigns covering Phrae, Nan, Chiang Mai, Chiang Saen, Rahaeng, and Luang Prabang were pursued. As the colophons translated in the present monograph testify, Gruu Paa Kañcana succeeded in mobilizing large numbers of people, from ordinary villagers to members of the ruling Royalty in his own and in neighbouring countries, to join in the meritorious endeavors of ["saññ dhamm], i.e. producing manuscript copies of Buddhist scriptures.

As can be inferred from the colophons of the manuscripts, the peak of the copying efforts lay in the 1830s. In 1835–36 no less than 242 palm-leaf manuscripts comprising 2,825 phuuk were copied in Luang Prabang

alone,⁴¹ for the better part scholarly texts like (sub-) commentaries on canonical and post-canonical Pāli literature, Pāli Grammar, a great many of which are in bilingual (Pāli/ NT or /Lao) versions, including numerous works of the indigenous learned tradition, for instance a complete Nissaya version of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka*.⁴² The charisma of Gruu Paa Kañcana was so extraordinary indeed that the manuscripts collected under his aegis have been so well preserved by successive generations that they have been able to survive to the present day in a well-kept condition. Comprising well over 15,000 phuuk, this collection represents the largest one known to exist in a single place in Northern Thailand.⁴³

Although still very much alive in the memory of the people of Sung Men, this eminent monk-scholar of the North has remained virtually unknown outside the region. While little is known about his life up to now, references in the manuscripts suggest that he will emerge as one of the most important rebuilders and preservers of Northern Thai culture and literary tradition since the expulsion of the Burmese. His influence may well have reached even further: it is tempting to speculate that there may have been a political dimension behind the efforts of restoring the Lan Na literary tradition, jointly undertaken by the Rulers of the Northern Thai principalities, and the King of Luang Prabang and one of his sons, the

⁴¹ These figures are mentioned in a stone inscription set up at Wat Wijuur (mostly written as Vat Visoun or Vixun), Luang Prabang, in CS 1198, Year of the Monkey [pii rwaay san] (AD 1836) to commemorate the accomplishment of his historic 99-manuscript copying endeavour. In the inscription which has been published, in facsimile, transliteration and French translation, by Father Schmitt in: Mission PAVIE, II, 1898:357–363, it is stated in detail how much money was spent, and by whom, for the making of the manuscripts: the King of Luang Prabang (i.e. Mangthathurat, r. 1817–1836, called [Mañhaal] in the inscription) is said to have contributed 85 [tāñ] of silver, the [Cau Raajawon] spent purified silver ([ñöön "laañ]) weighing 18,202 Baht, = 7 [kāa], 2 [dāañ]; and the lay people of Phrae contributed silver weighing 1 [jāñ], 10 [taamlūñ], 10 [slūñ]. For the gilding of the palm-leaves 2,800 gold leaves were used. The King of Luang Prabang sponsored the making of 34 bundles, the Prince Raajawon 177, and 31 were made through contributions from the people of Phrae. (Father Schmitt's transliteration and translation, admirable as they remain after almost a century, need a few corrections).

⁴² Among the palm-leaf manuscripts kept up to the present in the library of Wat Sung Men, there is also a list of the works (NT ["seen dhamm]) which were copied in Luang Prabang. An edition of the Lan Na version of the "Fifty Apocryphal Jātakas" is presently in preparation by a research team of the Department of Thai, Chiang Mai University, supported by a grant from the Toyota Foundation, Japan.

⁴³ The holdings of Wat Sung Men have recently been recorded on microfilm under the "Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Project" mentioned above.

"Cau Raajjawoñ, under the aegis of a highly revered Lan Na monk.⁴⁴

3.2.7.2 'Daa "Sqqy.

Another historic centre of Pāli Buddhist literature, mentioned in the colophons of the oldest manuscripts under study, is a place called |'Daa "Sqqy| (NT /tāa sɔɔj/). This township has not yet been located; one may only surmise that it must have been a settlement situated on the banks of a river, probably the Ping River.* 'Daa "Sqqy, according to what can be inferred from the colophons of a number of manuscripts dating from the end of the 15th to the second half of the 16th c., appears to have developed into a prosperous township, possessing a number of monasteries where many important Pāli manuscripts were made through monetary donations provided by apparently well-to-do citizens.⁴⁵ The highest ranking Buddhist dignitary of this township bore, according to ancient Northern tradition, the title Mahāsaṅgharāja.⁴⁶

No archaeological vestiges or any historical evidence referring to 'Daa "Sqqy have as yet been found.⁴⁷ In addition, a considerable number of villages and monasteries is mentioned in the colophons, only a few of

⁴⁴ Cf. for instance the joint sponsoring of manuscript 19 (see below) by the Ruler of Phrae, the King of Luang Prabang, and his son, the "Cau Raajjawoñ of Luang Prabang in which the Venerable Gruu Paa Kañcana may have played a mediating role.

* See 05 (Post-script to Remarks), Part B, below.

⁴⁵ This may be inferred from what is indicated in the colophons of a number of manuscripts from 'Daa "Sqqy presently kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok, and described by O. v. Hinüber (in: JSS, 75, 1987, pp. 49 foll); mention is made, for instance, of amounts of money spent for their making; in one (no. 55, CS 893 [AD 1531]) the sum of "one hundred |ñöön|" (/pēñ phatcāj lñɔj nññ/) is mentioned; on several phuuk of another holograph (no. 61.), a split-up sum is given, viz. fifty /bàat/ for the writing (/kāa laaj mññ/), one /fúaq/ for the palm-leaves (/kāa laan/). In another colophon (front cover of no. 54., dated CS 923 [AD 1561]), the scribe speaks of gilded manuscript caskets /hìt kham/ made for a monastery named /wāt pāa mñj/; the common tenor in all colophons of manuscripts from 'Daa "Sqqy is clearly that of a rather prosperous community.

⁴⁶ As far as the ecclesiastical status and authority of a "Mahāsaṅgharāja" in the context of 16th century Northern Thai rural society is concerned, this position cannot be compared, of course, with that of the "Supreme Patriarch", the highest-ranking Buddhist dignitary, of present-day Thailand; it may, perhaps, have been comparable to that of a /cāw khanā? tambon/ of today.

⁴⁷ For more details, see Part B, Remarks to 04, 05, below.

which can be identified on the basis of sources available today. (See Index D and E, where places not yet identified are marked with *).

Monastic and administrative titles and ranks, as well as names of historic personalities referred to in the colophons (and listed in Index C), will be of interest for further studies into the regional history of Northern Thailand.

Future research will certainly have to take into account the wealth of data contained in the colophons of thousands of manuscripts which have been made or will soon become available through microfilm recordings being undertaken by various institutions.

3.3 Composition of Variant Colophons — an Example.

Unlike manuscripts in neighbouring areas, such as Northeastern Thailand or Laos, for example, manuscripts of the Lan Na tradition usually contain several colophons; often each phuuk of a respective set will be furnished with one. This practice, apart from providing space for communication and personal expression, also offers advantages of a technical kind. Since palm-leaf manuscripts, unlike medieval books in the West, are not firmly fixed to their cover, but the separate phuuk or fasciculi can be removed individually — for recitation or reading out to the lay people during Buddhist congregations, for worship, as well as for study — a separate colophon for each phuuk must therefore have proved very practical for the purpose of identification.

Colophons belonging to the same holograph may differ with regard to contents, but in many cases they are very similar, if not almost identical, especially when written by the same scribe. Notwithstanding, they may convey important clues for a correct interpretation of texts written in archaic style or idiomatic language.

Sometimes, the exact meaning of a particular phrase becomes fully clear only when other variants are available which express the same idea, but use a different wording. The following short analysis, based on the text of six closely related colophons taken from four manuscripts that were written by a certain scribe in the 16th century for two monasteries in 'Daa "Sqqy, may serve as an example:

1. 05 Jātaka (*Pappāsanipāta*) AD 1550, colophon (2)
2. 07 Jātaka (*Sattatinipāta*), same year, (1)
3. 08 Sañyuttanikāya (*Sagāthavagga*) AD 1549, (2), (5), (6)
4. *Samantapāsādikā* (54, Collection of the Siam Society) AD 1561, Front Cover (see v. Hinüber 1987:48).

The colophons may be broken down into the following components:

(1) (The Pāli text of +) title

- a. *Pannāsanipāta*
- b. *Sattatinipāta*
- c. *Sagāthavagga*
- d. *Samantapāsādikā*

(2) (clf +) demonstrative

- a. an "nii" "this"
- b. "nii" "

(3) Subject (title or name of spp/don) + Predicate "to make"

- a. mahaasaṅgharaajaa "cau + "saān
- (b..., c..., d..., etc.)

(4) Date: "in the Year of (name of Cyclical Year)"

- a. nai pii kod sed
- (b..., c..., etc.)

(5) Cūlasakarāja + "dai + (number) + numerative (+ lää)

- a. cułasakraaja "dai 912 tūua lää
- (b..., c..., d..., etc.)

Translation of (1a) – (5a):

"This [manuscript of the] *Pannāsanipāta* was made at the behest of the Venerable Mahāsaṅgharāja in the Year of the Dog, CS 912".

(6) a. "phuu dai "Whoever ..."

b. kullaputt ton dai "Whoever [among you], sons of good family..."

c. puggala ton dai "Whoever..."

(7) a. au bai prasoñ "takes out for worship ..."

b. au prasoñ "takes [out for] worship ..."

c. au bai prasoñ "lääw "having taken out for worship ..."

d. yüüm bai prasoñ "lääw "having borrowed out for worship ..."

(8) a. 'pq "ruu at̄ha lää sapdaa "cääñ "dää "not truly knowing the meaning and wording ..."

b. 'pq "ruu at̄ha lää sapdaa "cääñ

"not clearly knowing the meaning and wording."

(9) a. 'yaa nap plääñ siia

"do not make corrections ..."

b. 'yaa nap plääñ siia 'dää

"

c. 'yaa plääñ siia 'dää

"

d. 'gq 'yaa plääñ siia 'dää

"

(10) a. 'yaa nap khian 'sai thääm "do not add any writing on it ..."

b. 'gq 'yaa nap khian 'sai thääm 'dää

"

c. 'yaa khian 'sai thääm

"

(11) a. 'pq dñi "[that is an] evil [deed]..."

b. 'pq au "[if you] do not follow [my advice]..."

(12) a. peen phreet "[you will be reborn] as a peta ("hungry ghost ...")

b. peen phreet jaam

(13) a. prasoñ "lääw "after worship ..."

b. müüa prasoñ "lääw "

(14) a. yia blan au maa 'soñ 'dñi 'kau 'dää "see to it that it is brought back again quickly ..."

b. yia blan au maa 'soñ "wai 'dñi 'kau (= a.)

c. yia blan maa 'soñ (= a.)

(15) a. "saāñ yaak nak 'kää "it was very hard to make it ..."

b. "saāñ yaak nak 'kää naa jjää " (= a.)

c. "saāñ yaak nak 'kää jjää " (= a.)

(16) a. jääñ "duuay düün "do take good care!"

b. 'gqy jääñ "duuay düün "

c. 'gqy jääñ "duuay 'dää "

(17) a. "hüü puñ caamröön 'kää "phuu peen daayaka "nan 'tqoñ "dau nibbaan düün

"may the merit [acquired by sponsoring the making of this manuscript] contribute to the donor's eventual attainment of Nibbāna."

b. 'cuñ peen pracaīy "gaam juu daayaka "phuu "saāñ "nan 'tqo
"dau thööñ amañanibbaan döön

"may [this meritorious deed] contribute to the donor's eventual attainment of Nibbāna, the place of Immortality."

c. 'cuñ "hüü peen pracaīy 'kää an "dai lookiya lää
lookut^{ta}rasampatti 'kää upaasikaa "phuu "saāñ "nii düün rau 'gø
anumoodanaa "duuay lää

"may [the merit acquired by sponsoring the making of this manuscript] contribute to the laywoman-donor's attainment of the Mundane as well as Supermundane states. May I also express my sympathetic joyfulness [for this meritorious deed]!"

Put into formulas, the composition of the variant colophons may be seen clearly:

05 (2):

1a + (3 - 5) + 6a + 7b + 8a + 10a + 9c + 11b + 12a + 13b + 14a + 15b +
16a

07 (1):

(1b - 5) + 6a + 7a + 10a + 9b + 11a + 12b + 13a + 14a + 15a + 16b

08 (2):

(1c - 5) + 6b + 7d + 14a + 15c + 16a + 17a

08 (5):

(1c [+ SN] - 5) + 6b + 7a + 9a + 10b + 11a + 12b + 13a + 14b + 15a +
16b + 17c

08 (6):

(1c - 5) + 6a + 7b + 8b + 9a + 10c + 11a + 12b + 16b + 17b

Samantapāsādikā, AD 1561, Front Cover:

1d + 3 + (...) + 6c + 7d + 14c + 16c.

As may be seen from the above analysis — to cite but two examples — the identification of components $\langle 7a,b \rangle$ or $\langle 11a,b \rangle$ as condensed conditional clauses (no conjunction is used!) would have been much more

difficult, or, at least, remained doubtful, had the general idea not been expressed several times and in various wordings.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Apart from a particularly condensed style which is characteristic for many of the older colophons, further problems arise from obsolete words or expressions, in our example, for instance, the following ones:
|prason| "to worship"; |jaam| "to try"; |nap| (lit.:) "to count"; |yia| (lit.:) "to make" (cf. German: "mach, daß du sie [die Handschrift] schleunigst wieder zurückbringst!"); |sapdaa| < Skt/P śabda, sadda "sound, word, grammar": a form up to now only found in a number of colophons from 'Daa "Sogy; here translated as "wording" (as suggested by O. v. Hinüber who also identified the form as such).

PART B: THE TEXTS

1. Technical Remarks.

1.1 The Transliteration.

The transliteration system used for the edition of the colophons is introduced and explained in detail in HUNDIUS 1990⁴⁹, where a collection of variant writings and allographs comprising some 250 forms is given to be used as a reference for further research. The Romanization introduced there and applied in the present study is not conceived as a definite or codified, fixed system, but rather as a practical tool for handling the multitude of primary sources written in Northern Thai and related languages and scripts that are becoming accessible at present.

The way of differentiating between variant writings found in the manuscripts, elaborate as it may seem, is considered of paramount importance, in order to maintain direct access to the original writings, so as to avoid evidence of linguistic or historical relevance being eliminated or blurred before research on the texts has even begun. The allograph inventory as set up in the above-mentioned study is, of course, incomplete and open for expansion. Hopefully others will find it useful and develop it further.

Basically, the transliteration used here is an extension or rather an elaborated version of the system used by G. CŒDÈS in his *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam* (vol. I, Bangkok, 1924) which has been adopted and slightly altered by subsequent scholars, for instance A.B. Griswold, and D.K. WYATT (in his edition of the *Crystal Sands Chronicle* of Nakhon Si Thammarat, 1975), as well as S. EGEROD (1961) who, by making further adaptations, used it for historical-comparative studies in Tai Dialectology, including CT and NT.

Since these systems were not adequate enough to come to grips with the specific problems involved in Romanizing Northern Thai sources (as outlined in PART A 2, *supra*), the system used in the present study was developed. It is designed to meet the double requirement

⁴⁹ This study of the phonological and writing system of Northern Thai, entitled "Phonologie und Schrift des Nordthai", resulted from a research project aiming at establishing foundations for the study of Northern Thai Literature ("Grundlagen zur Erschließung der Literatur Nordthailands"). Research work was conducted, with the support of Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), from 1977 to 1980, at Kiel University (Seminar für Orientalistik, Abteilung für Indologie; Director: Professor Dr. Bernhard Kölver).

- (1) to preserve the evidence contained in the originals, and, at the same time,
- (2) to facilitate the identification of the written words.

In order to achieve the most functional solution for the structurally different subsystems of consonants, vowels, and tone markation, these are treated differently.

1.1.1 Consonants.

1.1.1.1 General Principles.

- § 1 Conforming with common usage, the consonant symbols of the Northern Thai script are transliterated according to their value in Pāli or Sanskrit.⁵⁰
- § 2 Additional symbols created for the representation of consonant phonemes particular for Northern Thai are generally differentiated against the symbols from which they are derived by underlining.⁵¹
- § 3 Allographic rendering of word-final consonants, as well as significant form variants, are marked by index numbers.

1.1.1.2 Rationale.

- § 4 The practical advantage of basing the transliteration on the Pāli values is that they are reflecting an historical stage of sound development which is surmised to have been common to all or the majority of Tai languages and dialects.⁵²

⁵⁰ There are a number of symbols, however, which perform double functions: they are used for (1) representing consonants, and (2) for the representation of NT vowels (viz. |ya|, |wa|, and the "vowel carrier" [the equivalent of CT /t̥ə/ ?àap/]; for details, see below). When used in their second function, those symbols are rendered as part of the vowel transliteration.

⁵¹ Including the NT equivalent of CT /t̥ə t̥aw/, since |t̥| is reserved for the equivalent of CT /d̥ə d̥ek/ which is not represented in the Dhamma Script (where |d̥| is used instead), but is in others, e.g. the |Fak Khaam| and the |Daiy Nideeš| scripts as well as in the traditional secular Laotian (and Northeastern Thai) alphabets often called |Daiy "Nqoy| Script.

⁵² Cf. Brown 2.1985, Gedney 1967, and especially Li 1977.

§ 5 The symbols used in the transliteration, since they reflect an historical sound stage, contain a clear distinction between consonants belonging to what is called, in Thai linguistics, the "high", "middle", and "low" consonants.

These groups, of which the high and low have now coalesced phonetically, were obviously, at a time in distant history, once distinct, the "high" being used to represent voiceless aspirated, the "middle" pre-glotalized, and the "low" voiced consonant sounds. The distinction between symbols belonging to these three classes, which is needed for the identification of the tones, is thus implicitly given in the transliteration.

§ 6 Basing the transliteration of the consonants on the Pāli value offers the advantage of providing a common base of reference for a broad variety of Tai languages and dialects whose subsequent sound developments led into different directions. Against this background, it is an unambiguous, and at the same time, the most functional way of handling them.

1.1.1.3 Specific Information.

§ 7 The akṣara |va| of the Pāli alphabet which is maintained when transcribing Pāli texts, is rendered as |wa| when it is used for writing NT /w/.

§ 8 The "vowel carrier" symbol (equivalent to CT /?ɔɔ ?àan/) is represented by |zero|, for in the Romanized text it is implicitly indicated by the spaces between words: any transliterated word beginning with a vowel symbol can therefore be understood to be written with the "vowel carrier" symbol in the NT text.⁵³

§ 9 Final (i.e. syllable closing) consonants are, in the script under study here, regularly written as subscripts, either in their regular form or as simplified secondary graphs (ligatures). This device, indicating word boundaries by the use of positional variants, is matched in the transliteration implicitly by the spacing of words; therefore basic

⁵³ In (loan) words written with a Pāli initial, the Romanized vowels are underlined; see § 26, below.

and secondary graphs are rendered by a single symbol.

§ 10 Deviations from this rule (for example the use of regular linear symbols [with or without the NT equivalent of the Skt virāma], superscripts or diacritica instead of subscripts) which may render the writing ambiguous, are marked by index numbers.

1.1.2 Vowels.

1.1.2.1 General Principles.

The major innovation of the Romanization system introduced here concerns the treatment of the vowels, which, as stated by D.K. WYATT (1975:xi) "have never been provided for to the full satisfaction of all" in the framework of existing transliteration systems.

§ 11 NT vowel writings, whether consisting of a single symbol or of a configuration of elements, are generally rendered according to their phonological value according to the present spoken language.⁵⁴

§ 12 For Romanization symbols are used, as far as possible, that are not identical with those of the phonematic notation, but may allow for an association with the sound represented (a suggestion made by S. Egerod), e.g. |ü, üü| for /u, uu/, |ö, öö| for /ø, œø/, |ä, ää| for /e, ee/, |ø, øø| for /ɔ, œɔ/ etc.

§ 13 The requirement to differentiate between allographic forms, which abound in Northern Thai manuscripts, is met by the use of index numbers. Basic writings which were identified as quasi-standard in a sample of representative documents of different periods and locations are set up as "graphemes" and Romanized accordingly, i.e. without number, while variant writings or "allographic forms" are marked with an index number starting from .2 upwards, relating to a reference list of allographic writings collected in HUNDIUS 1990: 215 foll.⁵⁵ To give an example, the adhortative particle /tɔ?/ which would

⁵⁴ While the phonological subsystems of consonants and vowels are more or less identical among Northern Thai (sub)dialects, minor differences do exist between the tones (see 1.3, below). The present study is geared to the Nan dialect. As far as vowels in closed live syllables are concerned, see § 24, below.

⁵⁵ The graphemes were established after an evaluation of a broad cross-section of data

turn as |deiòah, deīòah, deiò, deīò, deiòòah, deīòòah| etc., if transliterated according to the Pāli (or Sanskrit) value of each of its graphic elements, will be rendered as |dö, dö₂, dö₅, dö₆, dö₇, dö₈| etc. in the present system.⁵⁶

1.1.2.2 Rationale.

- §14 Using a phonological basis for the Romanization appears to be the most appropriate way of dealing with NT vowel writings, especially in view of the complex graphemes with their multifunctional use of certain symbols and graphic elements.
- §15 This approach offers the advantage of Romanizations which are close to present (and, one may add, past) language reality, and consequently, relatively easy to read.⁵⁷
- §16 In Romanizing NT vowel graphemes, the use of index numbers appears to be the most economical way of differentiating between allographic writings which include mutual overlappings between forms which should have been differentiated and used consistently,

material, including manuscripts from the 15th to the 20th centuries, epigraphical documents, several traditional primers as well as more recent textbooks. Since the system has been set up for a practical purpose, i.e. as a tool for future editing of important primary sources, the graphemes are generally those writings which occur most frequently in a fair majority of carefully written manuscripts, most of which date from the 19th century.

- 56 The "atomistic" approach of transliterating Tai vowels, introduced, as it appears, by Father Schmitt at the end of the 19th century, though logically consistent in itself, has a number of serious drawbacks. As the above example illustrates, the transliterations are sometimes difficult to read; furthermore, diacritica which are mostly used multifunctionally in Northern Thai manuscripts (cf. Hundius 1990: 154-5) cannot be rendered adequately; essential and insignificant graphic elements are treated equally, to name but a few. Its basic weakness, however, lies in the fact that the transliterated graphs have no relationship to Tai phonology.
- 57 The advantage gained seems not to be counterweighed by historical considerations: according to the present state of knowledge in the field of historical phonology (see, for instance, Brown 2.1985, Li 1977, Egerod 1961), it may be safely assumed that the vowel system of Northern Thai has undergone only limited change during the past five to six centuries from which written sources have come down to us. This change has been mainly confined to the "waxing and waning" of vowel length and the monophthongization of /ia, ea, ua/ to /e(e), ø(ø), o(o)/ respectively. For details see Hundius 1990:21foll; cf. also Hartmann 1976.

if "text-book" rules were to be applied, so as to avoid ambiguity.

- §17 An additional advantage of using index numbers is the fact that the list of allographic variants can be expanded ad libitum, so as to accommodate additional forms that may be identified in the future.
- §18 Another advantage lies in the possibility that in circumstances where the need to preserve, or record, details of the original writing does not exist, the use of index numbers can be reduced or totally disposed of without affecting the identification of the phoneme, or lexeme, respectively. Such a "broad" Romanization is used, for instance, in the present study (Part A, and in the translations and "Remarks" of Part B) for proper names mentioned in the colophons (which are transliterated in Part B according to the "narrow" system). Titles of literary works, names of historical persons etc. are treated in the same way.

1.1.2.3 Specific Information.

- §19 By analogy to the phonematic notation, vowels interpreted as long are transliterated by double symbols; including, for the sake of convenience — and by analogy to the NT writing system where long diphthongs are separated from short ones — the first parts of the (phonetically long) diphthongs, viz. |iia| representing NT /ia/, |üüä| (/üä/), and |uuä| (/ua/) whose short variants are accordingly rendered as |ia| (/ia?/), |üä| (/üä?/), |ua| (/ua?/).
- §20 Written long vowels in closed "live syllables", i.e. those ending in a continuant (some of which have been shortened secondarily under conditions determined by tonal influences), are maintained as long, e.g. |peen| /pēn/ "to be", |nöön| /nøn/ "silver", |"tqöñ| /tøñ/ "must", etc., as well as |-aam| representing /-am/.
- §21 |wa| (in Pāli texts: |va|), when used for representing NT /ua/, is written |uuä|.
- §22 Correspondingly, Skt/ Pāli |ya| is rendered |iia| when representing /ia/.
- §23 The NT equivalent of CT /raj máj muán/ which is occasionally used in ancient manuscripts, is rendered |aü|.

§24 Complementarily used allographs (positional variants), like the ones used for syllable final, and for interconsonantal position, respectively, are indicated implicitly, by word boundaries (cf. § 9, supra).

§25 In the case of "dead syllables", i.e. those ending in /-p, -t, -k/, and /-ʔ/, where short and long vowels are crosswisely correlated with different tones, vowels are consistently differentiated as to their length, so as to allow for a correct identification of the tone. An ambiguous form like written |kööɖ|, for example, must be interpreted either as /kèət/ "to be born" or as /kət/ "to intercept" etc. If the context leaves no doubt that the first is meant, it would be rendered |kööɖ|, if the second one is meant, it would be written |köɔɖ| (here the index number is used to indicate that in the original the symbol normally representing a long vowel is written).

§26 Underlining of certain vowels (especially syllable final |-ə|, but also word initial |i-|, |u-| etc.) is used to indicate that the vowel writing as found in the original manuscript is following the rules for Pāli, instead of those for NT. The same applies for opposite cases, i.e. when, for example, the NT graph |oo| is used for writing |o| in a Pāli text.

1.1.3 Tones.

Since tone indication in Northern Thai orthography, as found in the manuscripts, is marked by the same degree of inconsistency as in the case of vowels, a similar, though simpler treatment is applied.

§27 The principle of preserving the evidence of the original is adhered to, while, at the same time, an interpretation of the tonal phoneme is given. Such an interpretation is often necessary for an identification of the lexeme.

§28 The tonal phoneme considered to be the **correct** one in the context of a given word (or syllable) is marked by the respective tone marker **before** the lexeme, whereas the **actual** tone markation found in the manuscript, if different, is written **after** the transliterated word.

§29 Symbols used are, in accordance with Thai usage, |'|, |"|,

|zero|, or an elevated |°|, respectively; |zero| before a given lexeme indicates that no tone mark should be written for correct realization; an elevated dot or |°| after the lexeme is used to convey to the reader that in the original, contrary to the rules of orthography, no tone mark was written.

NB: |zero| after a given lexeme indicates, in accordance with § 28, that the writing found in the original is identical with the writing considered as correct by the editor (and noted before the transliterated word).

1.2 Note on the Phonematic Notation.

The phonematic transcription used in the present study is a slightly modified version of the system introduced for NT by S. EGEROD (1957) and Mary R. HAAS (1958) which has been used, for instance, by S. EGEROD (1971) and V. BRUN (1976) in their editions of Northern Thai texts (s. Bibliography).

Unlike the HAAS-System, syllable final occlusives are interpreted as /-p, -t, -k/ (instead of /-b, -d, -g/), and the high back unrounded vowels are written /ɯ/, /ɯɯ/ instead of /y/, /yy/. The corresponding diphthong is written /ua/ instead of /ya/.

1.3 Note on the Pronunciation.

1.3.1 General Remarks.

Consonants and vowels are generally pronounced similar to their CT cognates; with most speakers, however, /kh-/ sounds more like the fricative [x]. Some vowels, especially /ɛ, ɛɛ/ tend to be nasalized. While the phonological structure of the tone systems of Tai Yuan (sub-) dialects is basically identical, slight differences are to be observed in the pronunciation between major subdialects like those of Nan, Phrae, Chiang Mai, Lamphun. The following table shows the variations.

1.3.2 Tonal Quality and Phonological Affiliation of the Tones.

Live Syllables*

* Syllables ending with a long vowel or /-m, -n, -ŋ, -w, -j/.

	Nan (Phrae)	Chiang Mai	Lamphun	
1. A2 /zero/	[35]	m-r	[33] m-e	
2. B1 /~/	[33-22]	m-e	[22] l-e	
3. B2 /~/	[21]	m-f	[31] m-f	
4. C1 /~/	[44?]	h-e	[44?]	h-e
5. C2 /~/	[5?3]	h-f	[45?3] h-f	
6. A1 /~/	[13]	l-r	[13] l-r	

Dead Syllables**

	Nan (Phrae)	Chiang Mai	Lamphun
DS1 /zero/	h-r [45]	ml-r [34 - 23] / /	m-r [34] / /
DS2 /~/	h-e [55]	h-e [55] /~/	h-e [55] /~/
DL1 /~/	ml-e [33 - 22]	l-e [22] /~/	l-e [22] /~/
DL2 /~/	l-f [21]	m-f [31] /~/	m-f [31] /~/

Abbreviations:

A, B, C = historical tone classes; 1 = ancient voiceless, 2 = ancient voiced consonants; DS = dead syllable with short vowel, DL = dead syllable with long vowel (for details, see Li 1977). Tonal quality: m = mid, l = low, h = high; e = even, r = rising, f = falling; ? = concomitant glottal constriction.

1.3.3 Ambiguities of Pronunciation.

1.3.3.1 Loss of /-?/ in connected speech.

In connected speech, unstressed DS syllables ending with /-?/

** Syllables ending with /-p, -t, -k, -?/.

generally lose their final glottal component, as well as their tonal quality to be heard in isolative (syllable-per-syllable) speech style. Such syllables will be transcribed accordingly, i.e. /unmarked/ without /-?/. Since the loosening of glottal striction is a gradual process depending mainly on the accuracy of pronunciation and the speed of speaking, consequently a certain degree of ambiguity persists.

Similar variations can be observed in the pronunciation of a number of mostly Indic loanwords which are read in slightly different ways such as the examples given below:

(Pāli/ Skt.)	(a)	(b)	(c)
<i>tičā</i> >	/ti? kāa/	/tikāa/	/tikkāa/
<i>dīpanī</i> >	/tī? pa? nii/	/tīpanii/	/tīppanii/
<i>jotaka</i> >	/coo ta? ka?/	/cootaka?/	/cootakka?/
<i>śakarāja</i> >	/sa? ka? laa cā?/	/sakalaacā?/	/sakkalaacā?/
<i>līkhita</i> >	/lī? khi? ta?/	/līkhita?/	
	/līkkhitta?/sobhati?	/sōo phā? ti?/	/sōophāti?/
	/sōophātti?/sthita?	/sa? thit/	/sathit/
	/satthit/		

etc.

Column (a) shows the pronunciation when syllables are read one by one, while forms in columns (b) and (c) are to be heard in normal connected speech.

As can be seen, the change occurring in all these cases runs down to the loss of a syllable-closing glottal stop which is then substituted by the following consonant in a phonetical process of "regressive assimilation" caused by the universal tendency towards using the least possible amount of energy in sound production.⁵⁸

Forms listed in column (b) may be regarded as examples of "learned" pronunciation, whereas allomorphs listed under (c) which represent the most commonly heard forms among present speakers, may be interpreted as belonging to the colloquial style of speech.

As for the phonematic transcription of such words, the written forms as found in the originals have been used as the basis of the notation: those that are found to conform with or be more closely related to etymology are transcribed according to the more learned style illustrated in column (b), whereas allomorphs which are written in conformance with

⁵⁸ As to the tonal change of dead syllables in connected speech, see Hundius 1990: 74 foll.

colloquial pronunciation, are notated correspondingly.

1.3.3.2 Final particles.

In the colophons a number of expressive final particles and exclamations are used, the tonal quality of which may vary, e.g.

/d̥ɛ̥, d̥̥ɛ̥, d̥̥ɛ̥/;
 /h̥ə̥j, h̥ə̥j, h̥(ə̥)j/;
 /naa/
 /n̥ə̥, "n̥ə̥/;
 /n̥̥o̥, "n̥̥o̥, n̥̥, n̥̥/;
 /l̥̥, l̥̥, l̥̥/;
 /?ə̥/

etc.

Such forms have been notated in accordance with present common usage.⁵⁹

1.3.3.3 Tonal quality of certain syllables ending with /-am/.

In a number of mostly disyllabic loanwords, if the first syllable ends with /-am/, its tone will change from tone class "A" to tone class "B" (in a few cases: "C"), e.g.

/c̥aml̥ə̥ə̥n/ >	/c̥aml̥ə̥ə̥n/	"to prosper"
/k̥aml̥ə̥/ >	/k̥aml̥ə̥/	"strength"
/k̥amp̥ə̥ə̥/ >	/k̥amp̥ə̥ə̥/	"wall"
/k̥amp̥ii/ >	/k̥amp̥ii/	"holy scripture" (< Pāli <i>gambhira</i>)
/s̥aml̥aḁn/ >	/s̥aml̥aḁn/	"to be well, happy"
/t̥amnaan/ >	/t̥amnaan/	"chronicle"
/*pamp̥ə̥/ >	/pamp̥ə̥/	"to perform, pursue"
/*lamp̥ə̥ə̥/ >	/lamp̥ə̥ə̥/	"to contemplate"
/lamb̥aḁk/ >	/lamb̥aḁk/	"to be hard, troublesome"

etc.

However, since some of such words are still pronounced with "A" tones by some speakers, in the present study words belonging to this category are transcribed as members of tone class "A", except when a tone marker

in the original indicates a change of tone class.⁶⁰

1.4 The Pagination of Palm-leaf Manuscripts.

The pagination of palm-leaf manuscripts is traditionally done by a combination of a consonant and a vowel written on the reverse side of each folio in accordance with the alphabetical order, the first phuuk starting with the first consonant of the alphabet, viz. *ka*, *kā*, *ki*, *kī*, *ku*, *kū*, *ke*, *kai*, *ko*, *kau*, *kaŋ*, *kah*; *kha*, *khā*, *khi*, *khī*, *khu*, *khū* etc. ...; *ga*, *gā*, *gi*, *gī*, *gu*, *gū* etc., providing a pagination for a total of 33x12 (= 396) folios or 792 pages. In cases of still longer manuscripts, the pagination may be further extended by adding a |-ya| to the consonants, viz. *kya*, *kyā*, *kyi*, *kyī*, *kyu*, *kyū*, etc., followed by *khyā*, *khyā*, *khyi*, *khyī*, *khyu*, *khyū*; *gya*, *gyā*, *gyi*, *gyī*, etc., and so on. Ideally, one phuuk would consist of 12 folios or 24 pages. In reality, however, variations and inconsistencies abound, especially in more recent manuscripts. (See, for example, the manuscript descriptions in Hundius [forthcoming], a critical edition of a Northern Thai Jātaka text [Balasaṅkhya-Jātaka]). To facilitate location of, as well as quotation from text passages recorded on microfilm, Arabic numbers have been added. Since this has been done in general only for pages containing the main text, there are quite a number of palm-leaf pages to be found on the microfilm which have no pagination. These are, in the present study, referred to by (1) the abbreviation "no no.", and (2) by stating the number of the palm-leaf page they are preceded by, or they are preceding on the microfilm.

1.5 Glossary of Special Words.

b̥o̥q q̥o̥k	lay sponsor or supporter of a monk or novice
capap (chapap) 'kau	"original manuscript" (lit.: "old ms") from which a copy is made
capap hn̥üüa	ditto (lit.: "upper manuscript")
"cau mahaajiwiit	"Lord of Life"
"cau müüan	chief, ruler (lit.: "Lord") of a müüan (q.v.); also used to designate the rulers of states and principalities under

⁵⁹ On the tonal quality of final particles, see Hundius op. cit., pp. 100 foll.

⁶⁰ At any rate, phonetical quality of A and B tones on the above-mentioned syllables (words like /pamp̥ə̥/, /lamp̥ə̥ə̥/ or /lamb̥aḁk/ left apart) is very much alike, due to a tonal reduction process effective in connected speech. For details, see Hundius op. cit., pp. 70 foll.

'dooñ, dhaan	Siamese supremacy
'dää	to make a thorough check
dii-hlii	final particle; emphasiser
dö	lit.: "good, good; splendid!"
dii-hlii dö	adhortative particle
"gau saddhaa or muulasaddhaa, pathamamuulasaddhaa	emphasising formula at the end of a wish; mostly translated: "may this come true"
gruu paa "cau	initial or leading supporter of the making of a new manuscript (cf. Pāli <i>ādikammasādhaka</i>)
"hnaa dap (rap, dhap) "g(l)au	highly respected senior learned monk
"hnaa dap (rap, dhap) p(l)aaay	mostly of high age
hnaan	front cover folio
mad̄	back cover folio
mad̄ "ton	former monk
mad̄ k(l)aañ	bundle (of palm-leaf fasciculi)
mad̄ plaay	first bundle
"mai hlaap	second bundle [of a set of three]
müüan	last bundle
muulasaddhaa	wooden wedge of a palm-leaf
"noqy	manuscript, mostly indicating title(s), no. of phuuk, date of writing, name of monastery to which the ms belongs etc.
phuuk	(fortified) settlement or township, urban living-place, city, city state, principality, kingdom, land*
phuuk "ton	same as "gau saddhaa (q.v.)
phuuk plaay (paay)	former novice
Rassabhikkhu	fasciculus

* For a discussion of the various meanings of |müüan|, cf. Wyatt 1984:7-8.

saddhaa	years ago. This, however, is only a guess.
saddhaa baay nai	(1) faith, confidence (in Buddha's teachings), (2) (member[s] of a) lay community
saddhaa baay noqk	"internal", i.e. monastic supporter(s) of the making of a new manuscript or other common religious efforts
sissa	"external", i.e. lay supporter(s) or sponsor(s) of common religious efforts
wiañ	follower(s) of a senior or learned monk (Pāli: pupil, student)
yaam kqon̄ naay	area within city walls or fortification; sometimes synonymous with müüan
yaam trää (thää) "k(l)ai 'diiañ	7.30-9.00; translated as "at the time of the morning drum"
yaam 'diiañ	9.00-10.30; "at the time of the forenoon horn"
yaam tuud̄ "jaay	10.30-12.00; "at noon"
yaam kqon̄ lään̄	12.00-13.30; "in the afternoon"
yaam trää (thää) "k(l)ai 'gaam̄	13.30-15.00; "at the time of the sunset drum"
	15.00-16.30; "at the time of the evening horn"

NB: For a more complete list of the divisions of the time according to the Northern Thai tradition, see TUIKEO 1986:107.

1.6 Remarks on Dates and Calendrical Systems.

All dates and calendrical references made in the colophons are rendered as such, i.e. no attempt has been made to make any calculations, e.g. of the days of the lunar calendar. As for the CS (Cūlasakarāja) Era, the dates can be converted into the Buddhasakarāja era or into the Christian era by adding 1181 or 638 years respectively. The correctness of the cyclical year can be checked with the help of SAO SAIMÖNG (1981) and SWANGPANYANGKUN (1988). A survey of Southeast Asian chronology as found in dated manuscripts is given in: BECHERT et al. (1979: xix foll.). For further bibliographical data relating to Southeast Asian calendrical

systems, see v. HINÜBER 1987b:15.

As for the animal names of the twelve branches, or "children" of the cyclical year (NT |luuk pii|), as these are called in Northern Thai tradition, there are some variations within the Chinese and the Southeast Asian traditions. The 12th "child" (NT |"gai|), elsewhere representing the Pig, is called "Year of the Elephant" in the Lan Na tradition (cf. DAVIS 1976:12) and is translated accordingly in the present study (cf. also the chart contained in SWANGPANYANGKUN (op. cit., p. 6) where both pig and elephant are placed together).

1.7 Note on the Description of the Manuscripts and the Presentation of the Colophons.

The following information is given:

1. A running number used for reference to the manuscripts under study.
2. The name of the text, as found in the CPD.
3. The categorization of the text as mentioned in the CPD. If no mention is made, but a classification according to the CPD system appears to be unproblematic, a categorization is added in square brackets.
4. The name of the author.
5. The number of the microfilm roll referring to the DFG-Collection, followed by the location of the respective text on the roll, given in inches.
6. Number of the text within the DFG-Collection (as laid down in HUNDIUS 1976b). Abbreviation: "Dc no".
7. Manuscript number, i.e. a preliminary inventory no. used within the Project "Dokumentarische Erfassung literarischer Materialien in den Nordprovinzen Thailands", 1972–1974. This number appears on the cover folios of the fasciculi (*phuuk*) recorded on microfilm. Abbreviation: "ms no".
8. Number of fasciculi (*phuuk*) recorded on microfilm.
9. Number of lines written on the palm-leaf manuscript.
10. Information as to whether the text recorded may be considered as complete or not. In several cases a thorough check of the entire text would be necessary to make a definite statement about completeness. This is beyond the scope of the present study. Therefore, the information given is, to a certain extent, to be taken as preliminary.
11. The year when the holograph was written (given in Cūlasakarāja era).

12. The year according to the Christian era (AD); obtained by adding 638 to the Cūlasakarāja year.

NB: If no date is mentioned, the abbreviation "n.d." together with an estimate of the probable date is added. This estimate rests upon the physical appearance, the style of the script and the orthography used.

13. Name of the monastery where the original was found (in 1974).
14. Location of the repository, i.e. district (Amphoe /Pamphœ/ and province (/cajwàt/).
15. Beginnings of the Pāli texts, preceded by information concerning the location on the microfilm (if necessary).
16. Location of the respective text in the generally used editions (as far as traceable). (This information is kindly provided by Professor O. von Hinüber).
17. Ends of the Pāli texts and their location on the microfilm.
18. Transliteration of the Northern Thai Colophons, preceded by their location on the microfilm.

NB: Shorter Pāli passages interspersed in the vernacular text are also transliterated. In some cases where lengthy portions written in Pāli (mostly wishes expressed by the scribes) are included in a NT colophon, these Pāli passages have not been transcribed, however. Any such case is identified.

19. Phonematic transcription of the transliterated texts.
20. Translation.
21. Remarks, containing information on special terms, comments on the translation, bibliographic data, etc.

NB: In accordance with the aim of the present study which is meant as an introduction into NT colophons, every NT colophon to be found on the microfilmed manuscripts is identified and treated in the way outlined above. Their presentation is done according to the order of their appearance in the manuscripts. In order to avoid unnecessary repetitions, identical colophons are identified as such and rendered only once. Those with only minor alterations from others previously presented, are given only in transliteration, while reference is given where the phonematic transcription and translation of the previous specimen can be found. In one case (no. 12, *Sadd*), due to particular

repetitiveness, the above-mentioned presentation according to the order of appearance of the colophons, had to be abandoned.

2. The Manuscripts and their Colophons

01. DHAMMAPADA-ĀTĀTHAKATHĀ 2.5.2.1

Roll 8, 035". Dc no 0227, ms no 693. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete. CS 883 = AD 1521. Wat Lai Hin (NT /wāt làj hǐn/; see Remarks). Amphoe Ko Kha (NT /kō? khaa/), Lampang.

Begins:

...]ñña dassanākāram akāsīti jighacchati, *Dhp-a* III 261,19

Ends: phuuk 1.48 = *khaṭ* v , line 5

bhante vimānam me naṭṭham na dāni kiṭ karissāmi 'ti vutte alam devadhite, *Dhp-a* III 301,29

Colophon.

Front Cover Folio.

|pii₄ "ruuañ[°] "sai[°] sakraaja₂ 883 ūua dhāmmapāda₂ "nii₄ māhaathee
suuar₃ prāhyaa "cau₁₀[°] "saan[°] "wai[°] peen muulāsaasnaa bra gootama₂ "cau₁₀[°]
5 ban pii₄ (...)|

/pii lúaj sāj sakalaacā?* pēt lōoj pēt sip sāam tūa thammā?patā? ní
mahāathēen sūan phānīā cāw sāaj wāj pēn muulāsāasanaa phā?
kootamā? cāw hāa pan pii (...) /

* Possibly the form |sakraaja| may have been read /sakhāatcā?/. To my knowledge, this particular writing has been found up to now only in manuscripts written in 'Daa "Sōqy; cf. 04 (1); 05 (2): cuṭa[°]; 06 (1); 07 (1), 08 (2, 5): cuṭa[°], below. It could therefore be useful for the tracing of the place of origin of ancient holographs.

Translation.

In the Year of the Snake, [C] S 883, the Venerable Mahaathee Suuar Prahyaa had this [manuscript of the] Dhammapada [-Ātāthakathā] made

as a foundation for the Teachings of Lord Gotama [so that they may last for] five thousand years.

Remarks.

The same colophon appears on the back cover folio (preceded by p 48 = *khaṭ* v).- |suuar prahyaa| is obviously not a personal name, but an official title or rank of a scholar; cf. Inscription no. 9 (Sukhothai, Wat Pa Daeng [CT /wát pàa d̥eey/], probably AD 1388, plate 3, lines 9-10) where a |naay suuar prajñaa| is mentioned as the first of a number of scholars (CT /nák pràat/); for the text of the inscription see CEDÈS 2.1983:153. A |theer suuar| is mentioned in Inscription no. 95, line 10; cf. KHANA KAMMAKAN ... [ed.] 1970:61. As for the toponym /lāj hǐn/ "stone shoulder" (!?) from which the monastery draws its present name, this seems to stem from a rather recent CT distortion of the former NT appellation /lāaj hǐn/ NT "stone side, bank" still well-known by the older people of this community, which is also testified in the colophons of numerous manuscripts to be found in this unique rural treasure-trove of ancient NT manuscripts. Yet another name of this village, however, appears in the colophons of older manuscripts written in this monastery: for instance, in the colophon of a copy of the *Samacittasuut*, Chapter 6, written by Khatiyaraññawasii Bhikkhu in CS 1164 (the actual given date is CS 1167, but this would not fit with the Cyclical Year mentioned), Year of the Tiger (|pii 'tau yii|) = AD 1802, the place is called |ra hrin| (read: /lāj hǐn/ "deserted rock/ stone", or: "a stone left behind").

02. DHAMMAPADA-ATṬHAKATHĀ 2.5.2.1

Roll 8, 042". Dc no 0232, ms no 587. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete; n.d., probably 16th c. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins: p 1 = *ha* r, line 1

tena me tvam pakkosāpito 'ti āha mahārāja kiñ te saddo suto 'ti,
Dhp-a II 6,8

Ends: p 46 = *jaṭ* v, line 5

so kasāhi tāli[yamāno, *Dhp-a* II 39,3

Colophons.

(1) p 3 = *ha* r, on left margin

|dhāmmapāda lāä sundarapaññoo "saan°|
/thammāpatā? lee sūntālā?pāññoo sāaj/

Translation.

Dhammapada [-Atṭhakathā] - Made at the behest of Sundarapaññoo.

(2) p 5 = *hi* r, on left margin

|"wai" kap brā dhaad "cau¹⁰ lañbaan lāä|
/wáj kap phā thāat cāw lampaaŋ/

Translation.

[Made] for [the worship of] the Great Relic of Lambaañ.

(3) p 9 = *hu* r, on left margin

|dhāmmapāda sundara "saan° "wai" kap bra₂ dhaad "cau¹⁰ lañbaan|
/thammāpatā? sūntālā? sāaj wáj kap phā thāat cāw lampaaŋ/

Translation.

Dhammapada [-atṭhakathā] - Made at the behest of Sundara [paññoo] for the [worship of the] Great Relic of Lambaañ.

Remarks.

According to colophons (2) and (3), the manuscript was meant as a Dhammadāna (a gift; offering) for worship of the Great Relic of Lampang which is enshrined in the great stupa of Wat Phra That Lampang Luang (NT /wāt phā thāat lampaaŋ lūaj/), situated in the present district(Amphoe) of Ko Kha, about 15km to the West of Lampang (and some 3km from Ban Lai Hin).

03. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Mahosathajātaka

Roll 8, 040". Dc no 0231, ms no 1123. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete; n.d., probably 16th/ 17th c. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins: no no. = *ka* v, preceding p 2, 4, 6, etc.
namo tass' atthu. pañcālo sabbasenāyāti, *Ja* VI 329,20

Ends: p 46, line 5
gāmavāsino pokkharaniṃ pe[sentu], *Ja* VI 341,29

Colophon.

Front Cover Folio (in very small characters).

|māhoosat̄ha māhaat̄heen (p)aa "cau¹⁰ (riiañ) suuñ³ "wai[°] kap wañ (un?) müüañ³ nai wiiāñ|

/mahōosatha? mahāathēen baa(?) cāw liañ(?) sūñg wāj kap wāt (?ùn?) muñg naj wiap/

Translation.

Mahosatha[-Jātaka]. The Venerable Mahaatheen Paa (?)* Riiāñ Suuñ [had this manuscript made] for Wañ (...) Müüañ in the city [of 'Daa "Sqoy?'].

* The written form |paa| found in this ancient manuscript might alternatively be interpreted as representing /pāa/ (lit.: "wood, forest") which would then indicate that this monk-scholar belonged to the school of the "Forest-dwellers".

Remarks.

In Thai and Lao tradition, if not generally in Southeast Asia, the Pāli word for "medicine" is spelled *osatha* (regular form: *osadha*). This holds true also for the Paññāsa-Jātaka manuscript M (Mandalay) used in the PTS edition of the Burmese version of the "Fifty Jātakas". Cf. JAINI 1981, 83:passim. The style of the script and the manuscript itself are very

similar in appearance to the oldest palm-leaf manuscripts found in Wat Lai Hin which originally belonged to monasteries in 'Daa "Sqoy. See also Remarks to 04.

04. MILINDAPAÑHA 2.6

Roll 8, beginning. Dc no 0224, ms no 685. 9 phuuk, 5 lines. CS 857 = AD 1495. Incomplete (s. Remarks). Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Colophons.

(1) phuuk 15, p 58

|sākraajā "dai⁵ 857 t₂uua naü₂ pii ḍap "hmau¹⁰ milindapañhaa naay sin prahyaa "saan[°] "wai⁵ kap hōq₄ piṭakā 'daa[°] "sqoy[°] lää|

/sakalaacā?* dāj pēet lōj hāa sip cet tūa naj pīi dap māw mīlīntā?pānhāa naaj sīn phāññāa sāap wāj kap hōo pitaka? tāa sōj lee/

* This writing which is to be found in several other colophons of the 16th century (see below) might also have been read as /sakhāatcā?/.

Translation.

[C] S 857 - In the Year of the Hare - [this manuscript of] the Milindapañhaa was made at the behest of Naay Sin Prahyaa for the library of [a / the Monastery in] 'Daa "Sqoy.

(2) phuuk 2.1 = *ghah* r; 2.48 = *khañ* v; phuuk 7.28 = *chañ* v, on left margin

|milindapañhaa naay sin prahyaa "saan[°] "wai⁵ kap hōq₃ piṭakā 'daa[°] "sqoy[°] |

/mīlīntā?pānhāa naaj sīn phāññāa sāap wāj kap hōo pitaka? tāa sōj/

Translation.

Milindapañhaa - Made at the behest of Naay Sin Prahyaa for the library of [a / the Monastery in] 'Daa "Sqqy.

Remarks.

The phuuk of this manuscript are microfilmed in the following order: 1, 2, 10, 7, 5, 4, 11, 6, 15. The text of phuuk 2 and 11 is photographed beginning with the end. This manuscript which originally consisted of 15 phuuk, has been described by O. v. HINÜBER (1987a). In August 1987, two more phuuk which are probably complete (8, 14) and some stray leaves (belonging to 9) were discovered in the course of works carried out at Wat Lai Hin under the "Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Project". Thus, at present, only phuuk 3, 12, and 13 of this invaluable manuscript which is the third oldest dated manuscript in Thailand known up to now, seem to be entirely lost. Cf. v. HINÜBER 1988b:173. The colophons represent one of the earliest documents of NT language written in the type of script that came to be known as "the" Northern Thai script par excellence, despite the existence of at least two other types of scripts. For details, see HUNDIUS 1990:119 foll; PENTH (1976). This is the earliest mention of 'Daa Sqqy to have so far come to light. See 05, below.

05. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Paññāsanipāta

Roll 8, 037". Dc no 0229, ms no 692. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete. CS 912 = AD 1550. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins: no no. = *ka v*, preceded by Front Cover Leaf with colophon (1) udhayhate (!) janapado 'ti, Ja V 193,3

Ends: p 46, line 5

datvā piyam ummadanti adiṭṭhā

addhā piyā mayham janinda esā, Ja V 219,7*

Colophons.

(1) Front Cover Folio, on left margin.

|kap wa᷑ srii 'u᷑r᷑ müüa᷑n᷑, [3] yo᷑sса "dau᷑ "faa nai müüa᷑n᷑, [3] 'daa" "sqqy" lää|

/kap wāt salii ?ùn mua᷑ñ nōtsa? tāw fāa naj mua᷑ñ tāa sōj lee/

Translation.

[Made] for Wāt Srii 'Ur Müüa᷑n {Yossa "Dau "Faa} in Müüa᷑n 'Daa "Sqqy.

(2) ibid., in the middle of the page

|paññāsanipāta jaata᷑kā māhaasa᷑nghāraajaa "cau᷑ "saan᷑ nai, pii ko᷑d se᷑s cu᷑asākraajā [2] "dai" 912 tūua lää "phuu" dai au prāso᷑n 'pō" "ruu" attha lää sapdaa "cāān᷑" "dāān᷑" "yaa" nap khīian [3] 'sai" thāäm 'gō" "yaa" plāān siia᷑ 'dāān᷑' 'pō" au peen phreed, ('müüa᷑) prāso᷑n "lääw" yia᷑ blan au [4] maa 'so᷑n" 'dāān᷑' 'kau" 'dāān᷑" "saan᷑" [yaak] nak 'kää" naa jlää jääān "duuay" (düün)|

/pānnaasa? nīpāata? caataka? mahāasājkhā?laacaa cāw sāa᷑ naj pīi kot set cūnlāsakalaacā? dāj kāw lōj sip ?et tūa lee phūu daj ?aw phasōj bō lūu ?attha? lē? saptaa cēj tē jāa nāp khīan sāj thēem kō jāa pēj sīa dēe bō ?aw pēn phēt māa phasōj lēw nīa? pan ?aw maa sōj dāj kāw dēe sāa᷑ nīak nāk kēe naa calee cēj dōj tāen/

Translation.

Paññāsanipāta-Jātaka [this manuscript was] made at the behest of the Venerable Mahaasa᷑ngharaajaa in the Year of the Dog, CS 912.- Whoever [among you] takes [this manuscript out for] worship, [if you do] not clearly know the meaning and the wording, do not add any writing on [it]: do not [try to] make any corrections; if [you do] not follow [my advice], [you will] be [reborn as] a *peta*. After worship, see to it that it is brought back again quickly, [for] hard work it was, indeed, to make it, so do take good care!

NB: the wording is partly obsolete today (see Part A, 3.3, supra, footnote 48). |prasoñ|: < Skt *prāśāns* "to praise"; |'pø au|: cf. the idiomatic expression: /thāa bò ?aw kam .../ "if you don't listen ...".

Remarks.

This phuuk obviously belongs to the same manuscript as 07. For a similar colophon, see v. Hinüber 1987b:48. The toponym 'Daa "Sqqy is mentioned in the colophons of a number of manuscripts dating from the end of the 15th c. to the second half of the 16th c., most of which are presently kept at Wat Lai Hin, while some are kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok; see *ibid.*, p. 49 foll (nos. 54-57, 60, 61). As mentioned above, the location of 'Daa "Sqqy has not yet been established (see, however, Post-script, below). Professor Dr. Prasert Na Nagara kindly informed me in 1987 that the late Professor Saeng Monwithun, a well-known scholar in Pāli and Northern Thai history, identified a place situated on the Yom River, to the NW of Sukhothai, named Lakhapuri in a Sukhothai Inscription written in Pāli in AD 1399, with a Thai settlement called Müüañ Sääñ which, according to Professor Saeng, was being called Müüañ "Srqqy 'at the present time'; cf. KHANA KAMMAKAN ... [ed.] 1970:55. This (uncommented) suggestion seems to have met with little response.

Associate Prof. Aroonrut Wichienkeeo (Chiang Mai Teachers Training College), who is presently engaged in the identification and localisation of ancient settlements in the North of Thailand, has yet to come across any mention of 'Daa "Sqqy in the 20 NT chronicles so far checked [October 1988], as her sister, Lamoon Janhorm (M.A.), kindly informs me. As O. v. Hinüber has observed, the marked difference between the text of the colophons in 04 (*Mil*, AD 1495), where neither the name of the monastery to which the manuscript was donated is given nor the word |müüañ| or |wiiāñ| is used when referring to 'Daa Sqqy, and the colophons in 05, 06 (as well as a number of other manuscripts from this place, which have been described by O. v. Hinüber in his above-mentioned catalogue) written a few decades later, might be no accident, and the assumption could be induced that at the time that the Milindapañha manuscript was donated, 'Daa "Sqqy had just been established as a settlement, possessing, in AD 1495, just one monastery.

Post-script.

A few days before sending this monograph to England for printing, the question of the location of 'Daa "Sqqy seems to have found an answer. On a hand-drawn, yet detailed and scaled (1:200,000) map, showing the route along which King Chulalongkorn's Chiang Mai born Royal Consort, Queen Dararamsnee (/phrá? rātchachaaaja cāw daaraarásamii/), travelled by boat up the River Ping to Chiang Mai, in AD 1908, the name |wiiāñ "srqqy| (NT /wiag sɔɔj/) is placed at an ancient site on the west bank of the /mēe piŋ/, opposite to a once well-known rapid called /kèŋ sɔɔj/, in a distance of about 22kms to the NW of the present Bhumibol Dam, Tak province; an area which has been inundated since the early sixties (see *Map*, p. 9, supra). Thus, it may be concluded that the archaeological remains of ancient 'Daa "Sqqy now lie buried beneath some 50-60 m of water belonging to this artificial lake. For the above-mentioned map, and some old photographs of the /kèŋ sɔɔj/ rapids, see SATTARAPHAI (2.1989, I, p. 132, 143; map on inside back cover).

06. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Tiñsanipāta

Roll 8, 033". Dc no 0226, ms no 540. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete. CS 876 = AD 1514. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins: 2 = *ka v*, line 1

namo tassa bha[ga]vato arahato sammāsambuddhassa. kimchando
kimadhippayo, Ja V 1,3

Ends: 46 = *kham* v, line 5

deva eko yakkho dissamānarūpena, Ja V 22,11

Colophon.

Front and Back Cover Folio.

|pii, kaap se,d {8} sakraaja "dai" 876 tiñsanipaata mahaa upaasaka
buua gaam 'taañ' müüiañ "saan" "wai" kap wañ suuar, khuua "nan" (?)|

/p̥ii kāap set sakalaacā? dāj p̥eet lōj cet sip hok [tūa] t̥ipsa?nīp̥āata? mahāa ?ubaasaka? pua kham tāaŋ m̥aŋ sāaŋ wāj kap wāt sūan khūa nán/

Translation.

Year of the Dog - [C] S 876. [This manuscript of the] *Tiisanipāta* was made for Waṭ Suuar Khuua at the behest of the Great Layman Buua Gaam 'Taañ Müüan.

Remarks.

|buua]: cf. present NT /pūa?/ "garland, string"; |'taañ| "to represent"; |'taañ müüan| "foreigner": this epithet might be used to indicate that the holder of the name Buua Gaam or his forefathers did not belong to the Tai Yuan ethnic group (?). |suuar khuua]: in the Sukhothai Inscription No. 9, among monastic dignitaries, a |paa suuar deeb| is mentioned, which, at least as far as |suuar| is concerned, appears to refer to a highly qualified official (cf. also Remarks to 01, supra). |waṭ suuar khuua| may perhaps be reminiscent of its founder who held the title of |suuar khuua| ("Bridge-Inspector"?).

07. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Sattatinipāta

Roll 8, 036". Dc no 0228, ms no 691. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete. CS 912 = AD 1550. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins: p 1 = *ka r*, line 1
devatānusi gandhabbo 'ti, Ja V 312,15

Ends: p 41, line 5b - p 42, line 1a
Soñananda-jātakam dutiyam. iti jātakaṭhakathāyavijātaka-
paṭimāñditassa Sattatinipātassa [42.1]tthavaññanā niññitā, Ja V 332,26

Colophons.

(1) Front Cover Folio, reverse side, in the middle of the page.

|sattatinipaata jaataka an "nii² mahaasañgharaajaa "cau° "saan° nai₄ pii ko₂d se₃s [2] cuļasakraajā "dai 912 tuua lää "phuu° dai₄ au bai praso₂n 'yaa° nap khian 's[3]ai° thääm 'yaa° plääñ₃ siia₄ 'dää° 'pq° dii₂ peen phreed jaam praso₂n "läaw° [4] yia₄ blan au maa 'so₂n° 'dan° 'kau₁₀ 'dää° "saan° yaak nak 'kää° 'gqoy° jääñ "duuay° düün|

NB: For phonematic transcription and translation, see 05 (2); sole difference: |'pq° dii| "[that is an] evil [deed]" is used instead of |'pq° au|.

(2) Front Cover Folio, reverse side, on left margin.

|ga ka ka kha kap waṣ srii₂ 'ur₃ müüa₃n yo₂s "dau₁₀ "faa° nai müüa₃ 'daa° "sqqy° "hnii₂ lää|

(For phonematic transcription and translation, cf. 05 (1); |"hnii| "here")

(3) phuuk 3, p 23, on left margin

|mahaasañgharaajaa "cau° "saan° lää|
/mahāasañghāraajā cāw sāaŋ lee/

Translation.

Made at the behest of the Venerable Mahaasañgharaajaa.

(4) p 2 = *ka v*; p 22, on left margin.

|kap waṣ mahaasro,hmañña srii₂ 'ur₃ müüa₃n yo₂s "dau₁₀ "faa° 'daa° "sqqy° "hnii₂ lää|

/kap wāt mahāsalōmmanā? salii ?ùn m̥aŋ nōt tāw fāa tāa sōj nīi lee/

Translation.

[Made] for Waṭ {Mahaasrohmañña} Srii 'Ur Müüan {Yo₂s "Dau "Faa}, here in 'Daa "Sqqy.

Remarks.

The words in {} constitute epitheta ornantia; the first, "Great Noble" (< Skt śramaṇa), only found in this manuscript, may very well (according to a suggestion made to me by Prof. Udom Roongruangsri) refer to the Mahaasaṅgharaajaa which could be taken as a hint that it was this monastery where the highest-ranking Buddhist dignitary of 'Daa "Sqqy resided. The second, "renowned up to the Heavens", is used in the colophons of several other manuscripts from this monastery (cf. 05 [2]; 08 [1, 4, 7]).

08. SAMYUTTANIKĀYA 2.3; Sagāthavagga

Roll 8, 100". Dc no 0265, ms no 582. 2 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete: phuuk 3 and 4 of a set of 4 phuuk (see Remarks). CS 911 = AD 1549. Wat Lai Hin, Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins: 1 [= phuuk 3], p 1 = *na r*, line 1
pavi]vitto bhante āyasmā sāriputto, SN I 63,28

Ends: 2 [= phuuk 4], p 36 = *jaḥ v*, line 5
sandasseti samādape[ti], SN I 113,3

Colophons.

(1) phuuk 3, Front Cover Folio, reverse side, preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc.

|"saān° "wai° kap waṣ srii 'un° müūaṇ, yo₂ssə "dau₁₀ "faa° nai müūaṇ, 'daa° "sqqy° "hmii° lää|

/sāaŋ wáj kap wāt sali? ?ùn muaj nōtsa? taw fāa naj muaj tāa sōj nīi lee/

Translation.

Made for Waṭ Srii 'Un Müūaṇ {Yossa "Dau "Faa}, here in Müūaṇ 'Daa "Sqqy.

(2) phuuk 3, Front Cover Folio, reverse side, in the middle of the page|paalii sagāthawagga an "nii" naaṇ gaam baa miiā 'hmüün" "nōqy

traa "saān° nai pii kađ "rau₁₀ culasakraaja "dai° 911 ṭuua lää [2b] kulaputt ṭo,ñ ḍai au bai prāso₂ñ "lääw° yia, blan au maa 'so₂ñ° "wai° 'dañ° 'kau₁₀ 'dāä° "saān° yaak nak 'kää" [3b] jlää jään "duuay° düün "hüü° puñ, caamröön 'kää "phuu peen daayakä "nan° 'tqo° "dau₁₀ nibbaan düün|

/baalii sakaatha?wākkä? ?an níi naag kham paa mia māen nōoj thalāa sāaŋ naj pīi kat lāw cūnlāsakalaacä? dāj kāw lōj sip ?et tūa lee kūnlābut tōn daj ?aw paj phasōj lēew nīa? pan ?aw maa sōj wáj dāg kāw dēe sāaŋ nāak nāk kēe calee cēe dōj tāen hāu bun cāmləen kēe phūu pēn taañāka? nán tōo taw nīppaan tāen/

Translation.

This [copy of the] Pāli [text of the] *Sagāthavagga* was made at the behest of Naan Gaam Baa, the wife of 'Hmūün "Nōqy Traa, in the Year of the Cock, CS 911. Whoever [among you], sons of good family, takes [this manuscript out for] worship, see to it that it is brought back again quickly, [for] hard work it was, indeed, to make it, so do take good care! - May the merit [acquired by sponsoring the making of this manuscript] contribute to the donors eventual attainment of Nibbāna.

NB: |kulaputt ṭon ḍai|: the use of the cl/ton/ (which is common in NT when referring to members of the Saṅgha, including holy objects like Buddha statues etc., and the Royalty can be taken as an indication that it is specifically (younger) monks and novices who are addressed.

(See also 05 [2], above).

(3) Front Cover Folio, reverse side, on left margin

|"wai° kap waṣ srii 'un° müūaṇ 'daa° "sqqy° lää|
/wáj kap wāt sali? ?ùn muaj tāa sōj lee/

Translation.

[Made] for Waṭ Srii 'Un Müūaṇ, 'Daa "Sqqy.

(4) phuuk 3, last folio, no no., preceded by p 48, on left margin

|"wai° kap waṣ srii 'un° müüaṇ̄, yo,ṣṣa [2] "dau°₁₀ "faa° nai müüaṇ̄, 'daa°
"sqqy° "hnii°, lää|

/wáj kap wāt sali? yùn muaj nōtsa? taw fāa naj muaj tāa sōj nii lee/

Translation.

[Made] for Waṭ Srii 'Un Müüaṇ̄ {Yossa "Dau "Faa}, here in Müüaṇ̄ 'Daa "Sqqy.

(5) ibid., in the middle of the page

|paaṇii sāgaathawagga sāmyuttanikaay an "nii° naaṇ̄ gaam̄ baa miia₄
'hmüün° "nqqy° traa "saan° nai pii kaḍ "rau₁₀ cuṭa[2]sākraaja "dai° 911
tuua lää kulaputt ton dai au bai praso,ṇ̄ 'yaa° nap plääñ, siia₄ 'gō° [3]
'yaa° nap khian° 'sai° thääm° 'dää° 'pq° dii, peen phreed jaam praso,ṇ̄
"läaw° yia₄ blan au maa 'so,ṇ̄ "wai° [4] 'dai° 'kau₁₀ 'dää° "saan° yaak nak
'kää° 'gqqy° jääñ "duuay° düün 'cun° 'hüü° peen prācayi 'kää° an "dai°
yañ lookiyä lää lookuttara sāmpatti 'kää° upaasikaa "phuu° "saan° "nii°
düün rau₁₀ 'gq° anumoo[6]dānaa "duuay° lää|

/baalii sakaatha?wākkā? sāqñūtta?nīkāaj ?an nī naaj kham paa mia
māuñ nōj thalāa sāaŋ naj pī kat lāw cunlāsakalaacā? dāj kāw lōj sip ?et
tūa lee kūnlābut tōn daj ?aw paj phasōj jāa nāp pēej sīa kā jāa nāp
khian sāj thēem dēe bō dii pēn phēet caam phasōj lēew nīa? pan ?aw
maa sōg wāj dāj kāw dēe sāaŋ nāk kēe kāj cēej dōj tūen cūj hēu
pēn phatcāj kēe ?an dāj nīaŋ lookinā? lē? lookuttalā?sāmpatti? kēe
?ubaasikāa phūu sāaŋ nī tūen law kā ?anūmootanaa dōj lee/

Translation.

This [copy of the] Pāli [text of the] *Sagāthavagga*, [being part of the] *Sāmyuttanikāya*, was made at the behest of Naaṇ̄ Gaam̄ Baa, the wife of 'Hmūün "Nqqy Traa, in the Year of the Cock (|pii kaḍ "rau|), CS 911. Whoever [among you], sons of good family, takes [this manuscript out for] worship, do not [try to] make any corrections; do not add any writing on [it]; [that is an] evil [deed; you will] be [reborn as a] *peta* ..., so do take good care! - May [this meritorious deed] contribute to the donor's eventual attainment of Nibbāna, the place of Immortality!

was, indeed, to make it, so do take good care! - May [the merit acquired by sponsoring the making of this manuscript] contribute to the laywoman-donor's attainment of the Mundane as well as Supermundane states.* May I also express my sympathetic joyfulness [for this meritorious deed].

* Lokiya (P) : "Mundane", [...] all those states of consciousness and mental factors [...] which are not associated with the supermundane paths and fruits of Sotāpatti etc.;

Lokuttara (P): "Supermundane", [...] the 4 paths and 4 fruits of Sotāpatti etc., with Nibbāna as ninth; see Nyanatiloka 1972:91.

(6) phuuk 4, Front Cover Folio, reverse side, in the middle of the page

[same as (2), above, until ---] |911 tuua lää "phuu° dai au praso,ṇ̄ 'pq°
"ruu° aṭṭha lää sapdaa "cāan° 'yaa° nap plääñ siia₄ 'yaa° khian° 'sai°
thääm° 'pq° dii peen phreed jaam ... 'gqqy° jääñ "duuay° düün 'cun° peen
prācayi "gaam̄ juu daayaka "phuu° "saan° "nan° 'tq° "dau₁₀ thöön
amatāni[5]bbaan döön|

/... kāw lōj sip ?et tūa lee phūu daj ?aw phasōj bō lūu ?attha? lē? saptaa
cēej jāa nāp pēej sīa jāa khian sāj thēem bō dii pēn phēet caam ... kō
cēej dōj tūen cūj pēn phatcāj kām cuu taanāka? phūu sāaŋ nān
tōo taw thēj ?amātanīppaan tēen/

Translation.

[For the beginning, see (2), above], CS 911. Whoever takes [this manuscript out for] worship, [if you do] not clearly know the meaning and the wording, do not [try to] make any corrections, do not add any writing on [it; that is an] evil [deed; you will] be [reborn as] a *peta* ..., so do take good care! - May [this meritorious deed] contribute to the donor's eventual attainment of Nibbāna, the place of Immortality!

NB. The written form transliterated here as |aṭṭha| /?attha?/ (< P aṭṭha
"meaning, sense") is ambiguous: it allows for another reading, i.e.
|aṭṭh| /?at/ "id." Both forms are found in NT literature. The first

may be considered as the more learned variant prevailing in literary style, the second one, representing an old loanword in NT, is predominantly used in everyday speech.

(7) *ibid.*, on left margin

| "saān° kap waṣ srii 'un° müüañ, yo,ṣṣa "dau¹⁰ "faa° nai müüañ, 'daa° "sqoy° "hnii° läa|

/sāaŋ kap wāt salī ?ùn maaŋ nōtsa? tāw fāa naj maaŋ tāa sōj nī lee/

Translation.

[Made] for Waṭ Srii 'Un Müüañ {Yossa "Dau "Faa}, here in Müüañ 'Daa "Sqoy.

Remarks.

On the contents of this manuscript, see O. v. HinÜBER 1983:80.- |gaamp baa|: /kham/ "gold, golden"; /paa/ (prima facie): "to lead, take somebody to some place personally". This would make, semantically, a rather strange name. A different interpretation, suggested by Prof. Udom Roongruangsri, seems more convincing. As is well known, words like /kēew/ "jewel" or /kham/ "gold" are widely used in NT names as decorative expressions of affection and should not be taken as part of the genuine name. Cf. names like /kham ?āaj/ etc. where only the second element can be considered as the real personal name. Taking into account the Thai habit of affectionately, or out of familiarity, calling people by only the last syllable of their full names, the real given name of |Naan Gaamp Baa| may have been |Bimbaa| "mould, moulded" (< Skt/P bimba) which would make a very common girl's name. For a similar case, see |Sāän Gaamp Daa| in 20, phuuk 12.

09. PAṬṬHĀNA-MAHĀPAKARAÑA-ATṬHAKATHĀ [3.3.?]

Roll 9, 104". Dc no 0266, ms no 580. 1 phuuk (= phuuk 5?), 6 lines. Incomplete, CS 945 = AD 1583. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins: p 1 = *jha* r, line 1

sahajātapa]ccayā va na honti sahajātadhammavasena pana nissayapaccayādīhi pavattisabbāvato tasmi vāre patikkhitteso vāro parihāyati evam idhā 'pi aññamaññapaccayadhammavasena sahajātādīhi pavattisabbhāvato tasmīm paṭi[2]kkhitte so (v)āro parihāyati, *Tikap-a* (N° 1972) 213,5=(B° 1956) 471,21.

Ends: p 37 = *ne* v, line 6

vipulavisuddhabuddhinā Buddhaghoso 'ti garūhi gahitanāmadheyyena therena katā sakalassā 'pi abhidhammapitakassa atṭhakathā mahā anantaññānavisayassa paṭṭhānamahāpakarañassa atṭhakathā anantaññā, *Tikap-a* [end of text]

Colophons.

(1) Front Cover Folio.

" 5 Paṭṭhānamahāpakarañatṭhakathā "

(2) Back Cover, reverse side, preceded by p 37

|na 5 sa{a}kraajā 945 mā- māä chñam, p° upaasikaa 'māä ciiam peen pratyayañdaayikaa|

/hāa sakalaacā? kāw lōj sīi sip hāa mā?mee sanām patthāanā? mahāpakalāññā? ?atṭhakathāa ?ubaasikāa mēe ciām pēn phatññāññā?taaññikāa/

Translation.

[phuuk] 5 - [C] S 945, Year of the Goat.- [The making of this manuscript of the] P^o was supported by the lay-woman named Ciam.*

* |'mää ciam| lit.: "Mother Ciam".

Remarks.

This text has been edited in *Tikap*, *Dukap*, cf. CPD, Epilegomena 3.7,1; further: The Pañcappakaraṇa-Atṭhakathā, vol. III Yamaka-Atṭhāna-Atṭhakathā, ed. by M. Tiwary. Nalanda 1972 (Nº). (O. v. Hinüber). Note the Sanskrit form *pratyayadāyikā* (instead of the Pāli word *paccayadāyikā* also used in the colophons) which appears to be rather unique.

10. ABHIDHAMMA-GULHATTHA-DĪPANI 3.9.3

Roll 8, 039". Dc no 0230, ms no 588. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete; n.d. (16th c.?). Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins:

]lena balena cā 'ti adhippāyo. jarāmarañasam̄bandhā [commentary on *Vibh-a* 188,20] 'ti jarāmarañahetukā anabhisam̄bandhā 'ti bhobye ...

Ends: p 47, line 4b-5

atṭhakathācariyassa hi nāma kattā Buddhaghosenā 'ti vuttaṇ. samattan ti dhammasamma[5]tam paṭiccasamuppādadharmattam paṭi vijjhātū 'ti attho majjhimam̄ vā paṭipadām ariyam atṭhaṇgikamaggam. sammohavinodaniyā vibhaṇgaṭṭhakathāya gulhaditthadipa[48.1] nā(!) niṭhitā

Colophons.**(1) Front Cover, r**

|nāk puñ, tjuuanja† "tääm" "saan" lää
mahaa ñaaṇasamuddam̄galā- meedhaawii "cau" peen upathambhaka
"saan|

/nāk bun (cuajcā? ?) tēem sāaŋ lee

mahāa ñaaṇasamūttā?maŋkālā?meethaawii cāw pēn ?upathāmphāka? sāaŋ/

Translation.

Written by the pious Juuanja (?) - supported by the Venerable Mahaa ñaaṇasamuddamaṅgalameedhaawii.

NB: Added by another hand (of apparently recent date) is the word *Guļadīpanī*.

(2) ibid., rear side

|Sammohavinodaniya Guļhatthakathā lää "saan" "wai" "büüa" "hüü"
jootakā buddhasaasanaa traap, 'tq; "dau" jaraa lää|

/sāmmooha?wīnootānīñā? kunhatthakathāa lee sāaŋ wāj pāa hūu
cootaka? pūtthā?sāasanaa thalāap tōo tāw calaa lee/

Translation.

[The Pāli text of] the G^o - Made to support Buddha's Teachings so that they may survive as long as the palm-leaves last.

(3) p 48, line 1

|mahaa ñaaṇasamuddam̄galā "cau" uppathambhaka "saan
Sammohavinodaniyā Vibhaṇgaṭṭhakathāya Gulhatthadīpanā(!) niṭhitā |

/mahāa ñaaṇasamūttāmaŋkālā? cāw ?uppathāmphāka? sāaŋ .../

Translation.

[The making of this manuscript was] supported by the Venerable Mahaa ñaaṇasamuddamaṅgalā.

(4) Back Cover, r

|gu|hadipiṇḍi lāä "saāñ" "wai" 'būūa, "hūū" jootaka buddhaasāṇaa
lāä|

/kunhatiipanii lee sāñ wāj pāa hāū cootaka? pūtthā?sāasanaa lee/

Translation.

[The Pāli text of the] G° - Made to support Buddha's Teachings.

Remarks.

This text, a subcommentary on *Vibh-a*, was previously unknown.

11. Dīghanikāya 2.1; Sāmaññaphalasutta

Roll 8, 031". Dc no 0225, ms no 699. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete; n.d., probably 1st half of 16th c. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins: Front Cover [no no.] r, preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc.

evam me sutam. ekam samayañ bhagavā, DN I 47,2

Ends: p 75, line 5a

JKañ dhammakañāñāñ j[ñ]vitāna vo rope(ss)atha imasmiñ ye
vassabh(e)sane virajañ (vi)tamalañ dhammacakkhuñ upajjissa(tati).
idam avoca bhagavā attama[, DN I 86,7

Colophon [in Pāli].

p 76, line 1a

[Sāmaññapha]la-suttañ dutiyañ

Translation.

[Sāmaññapha]la-suttañ - 2nd [sutta of the DN].

Remarks.

The unusual high number of folios is due to the fact that this phuuk contains the complete text of the Sāmaññaphalasutta.

12. SADDANĪTI 5.2; Author: Aggavāñsa (AD 1154)

Roll 8, 171". Dc no. 0241, ms no 843. 18 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete; phuuk 8, 21-26, 28, 29, 32-40. Last bundle (?). CS 923 or 953 = AD 1561 or 1591, respectively (see Remarks). Wat Phumin (NT /wāt phuumin/). Amphoe Muang, Nan.

Begins: phuuk 8, p 1, line 1a

iti nipaccate [E^e nippajjate] tvañ ca uttama sattavo sattavā sattavanti,
Sadd 648,14

Ends: phuuk 40, p 60 = *jhū* v, line 4c-5

ari[5]maddanapurañāsinā aggavāñsācariyena katam
Saddanitippakarañāñ(!) niññitam. pamāñato idam pakarañāñ sattatiyā
bhāñ avātehi sattatuññthehi [read: sattuttarehi] gāñhāsatehi ca
niññhangatañ, Sadd 928,21

Colophons.

(1) phuuk 8, Front Cover Folio, r

|culaññkraaja "dai₄ 9°(2)3 ūua sre₃jh naū pii, rākāa dai₄ya bhaasaā
'waa^o pii₄ "ruuañ₃ "rau₂ sāddanīti phuuk₄ 8 luu₃k₄ naāñ khaaw srii,
'yuu^o "paan 'daa^o huua rūūan (sic!) ban "hūū" "saāñ" kap
buddhaasāñnaa lāä|

/cūnlāññkhāatcā? dāj kāw lōoj saaw (?) sāam tūa salet naj pī lākāa
tajñññphaasāa wāa pī lūāñ lāw sattāññti? phūuk pēt lūuk naāñ khāaw
salii jūu bāān tāā hūa lēān pan hāū sāñ kap pūtthā?sāasanaa lee/

Translation.

CS 9(2?)3 - Completed in the Year of the Goat (|pii rākāa|), [which corresponds to] the year called |"ruuañ "rau| in the Dai tradition. [This copy of] the 8th phuuk of the Saddanīti was made in support of Lord Buddha's Teachings at the behest of the son/ daughter* of Naāñ Khaaw Srii who lives in "Paan 'Daa Huua Rūūan Ban.

- * By the term |luuk| no indication is given as to the sex of the "child"; |luuk| may also be plural: "sons and/or daughters, children". Native speakers however feel that in this context, the scribe is referring to a single donor.

NB: identical colophons are engraved on the Front Cover Folios (recto side) of phuuk 26, 29, 36, 37, 38. Only a few words are added in the following colophons (2) and (3).

(2) phuuk 24, Front Cover Folio, r

|phuuk₄ 24 cu_lasāñkraajja "dai" 9(2)3 t_uua sre_{jh} na_ü pii, r_{ak}aa dai_{ya}
bhaasaa 'waa' pii, 'ruuañ' 'rau₂' s_{add}an_{it}i luuk₄ naañ₄ khaaw srii₅ mii
'y_{uu}" 'daa" huua rüüan ban mii kusalachan "haü" "saan" "wai₄ kap
saasnaa br_ä buddha "cau" 't_oq₅; "dau" 5000 w_{ass}aa phuuk₄ 24|

/phuuk saaw sii c_unlās_äkh_äatcä? däj k_äw l_ooj saaw (?) s_äam t_ua salet
naj pii l_äk_äaa tajñä?phaasäa wâa pii l_uaj l_{aw} sattñ_{it}i? l_uuk naaj khaaw
salii mii j_uu t_äa h_üa l_æan pan mii kutsala?s_än h_äj s_äaj w_äj kap
s_äasanaa phä? p_üthä c_äw t_o t_äw h_äa pan w_ätsäa phuuk saaw sii/

Translation.

phuuk 24 - ... [This copy of] the *Sadd* was made out of the meritorious intention of the son/ daughter of Naañ Khaaw Srii who lives in "Paan 'Daa Huua Rüüan Ban, in support of Lord Buddha's Teachings (Pāli: Buddhasāsana) for the entire 5,000 years.*

- * It may be worth mentioning that the Pāli loanword |wassaa| (Pāli: *vassa*), which is used here as a synonym of |pii| "year" conveys the connotation of the rainy season, the time of the year when the monks and novices are expected to stay at their home monastery, and devote their time to studying and giving sermons to the lay community.

(3) phuuk 33, Front Cover Folio, r

|... "hüü" "saan" mii m_{ah}aa w_{aj}irapaññoo "cau₂ peen up_{at}hambh_äka : 33|

/... h_üu s_äaj mii m_{ah}aa w_ätc_{il}ä?p_änñoo c_äw p_ën ?uppathamph_äka?
s_äam s_{ip} s_äam/

Translation (last part).

... Made at the behest of ... , the Venerable Mahaa Wajirapaññoo being [the leading monastic] supporter. [phuuk] 33.

NB: Identical colophons are engraved on the Front Cover Folios (recto side) of phuuk 34 and 35. A different wording is to be found at the end of the following colophon (in this partly illegible colophon only the date [but not the name of the Cyclical Year] is mentioned).

(4) phuuk 22, Front Cover Folio, r

|namatthu jina(v)arapavara t_{cu}ua waad_† cu_lasāñkraaj "dai" 9^o53 t_uua
sre_{jh} (written: srajhee) s_{add}an_{it}i phuuk₄ 22 luuk₄ naañ khaaw srii₅
'y_{uu}" "paan" "daa" huua rüüan ban "hüü" "saan" peen pr_{acc}y_a 'kää"
ñiaanä(...)|

/nämätthu? c_{in}ä?w_{äl}apawälä ... c_unlās_äkh_äat däj k_äw l_ooj h_äa s_{ip} s_äam
t_ua salet sattñ_{it}i? phuuk saaw s_öoj l_uuk naaj khaaw salii j_uu b_äan
t_äa h_üa l_æan pan h_üu s_äaj p_ën phatcaññ? k_ëe ñiaanä(...)/

Translation (last part).

... CS 953 - completed. *Sadd* - phuuk 22: made at the behest of the son/daughter of Naañ Khaaw Srii who lives in "Paan 'Daa Huua Rüüan Ban ... as a contribution to [the attainment of] (...) knowledge (...).

NB: The following colophon (5) represents a shorter version (containing no dates, years etc.):

(5) phuuk 8, Front Cover Folio, v (preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc.)

|saddanīti maq plaay saddanītti phuuk₄ 8 luuk₄ naañ₄ khaaw srii,
'yuu' 'daa huua rüüan ban "hüü" "saan" kap buddhåsañnaa|

/sattāñti? māt pāaj sattāñti? phuuk pēt lūuk naaj khāaw salii jū
bāan tāa hūa lāan pan hūa sāaj kap pūtthā?sāasanaa/

Translation.

Sadd - last bundle [See Remarks]. *Sadd* - phuuk 8. Made at the behest of the son/ daughter of Naañ Khaaw Srii who lives in "Paan 'Daa Huua Rüüan Ban, in support of Lord Buddha's Teachings.

NB: Identical colophons are engraved on the verso sides of the Front Cover Folios of phuuk 8, 29, 36, as well as on the verso sides of the Back Cover Folios of phuuk 22, 25, 26, 35, 37, 38, and on the Front Cover Folio, recto side, of phuuk 40.

(6) phuuk 21, Front Cover Folio, r

|sakkaraaja 953 pii, tho₄ daiyåbhaasaa 'waa° pii, "ruuañ° "hmau°
gimhāntaraduu düüañ 7 "khün" 15 'gaam° (sic!) saddanītipakarāna maq
plaay mahaä aggasaamii, "cau₂ wad cāndamooļii, srii, saddhåmmåkitti
"saan° ka kha kq |

/sakkalaacā? kāw lōj hāa sip sāam pī tho? tajñā?phaasāa wāa pī
lúaŋ māw kimhānta?lāduu dēan cet khān sip hāa khām
sattāñti?pakalāñ? māt pāaj mahāa ?akkāsāamii cāw wāt cāntā?moolii
salii satthammākitti? sāan/

Translation.

[C] S 953 - In the Year of the Hare (|pii tho|) called |pii "ruuañ "hmau| in the Dai tradition, in the Hot Season, in the 7th [lunar] month, on the 15th day of the waxing moon. *Sadd* - last bundle; made at the behest of Mahaä-Aggasaamii the Venerable Lord Abbot [of this monastery (?), i.e. Wat Phumin?] Candomooļii Srii Saddhåmmåkitti.

NB: The words following |"cau wad| obviously refer to the holder of an ecclesiastical title (cf. [7] phuuk 32, below, where the double appearance of the word |"cau| leaves no doubt about this), and not the name of a monastery which one would normally expect to find at this position. Therefore, the name of the monastery can only be surmised. Virtually an identical colophon (only the words |7| "7th" and |"khün| "waxing" do not appear) is engraved on the recto side of the Front Cover Folio of phuuk 23. Similar colophons (however, without year, name of Cyclical Year, month, day, etc.) are to be found in phuuk 21, Front Cover Folio v, as well as in:

(7) phuuk 32, Front Cover Folio, r

|saddanitipakarāna somde₂cch "cau₂° wad cāndamuuļii, srii,
saddhåmmåkitti "cau₂° "saan° phuuk₄ 32|

/sattāñti?pakalāñ? sōmdet cāw wāt cāntāmuulii salii
satthammākitti?cāw sāaj phuuk sāam sip sōŋ/

Translation.

Saddanīti-Pakarāna - Made at the behest of the Venerable Lord Abbot Candomooļii (here written: Candomuuļii) Srii Saddhåmmåkitti. - phuuk 32.

(8) phuuk 40, Back Cover Folio v (preceded by p 60), on right margin:

|saddanitipakarāna "dai" (... ... "hmau°) hnañsüü hnüüa capap 'nün°
'daan° khian pii sakkaraaja 855 (tuua)|

/dāj ... māj nāñsüü nāa capap nāñ tāan khian pī sakkalaacā? pēt lōj hāa
sip hāa tūa/

Translation.

(...) the previous holograph [i.e. the one from which this manuscript was copied?] was written in [C] S 855 (= AD 1493).

NB: On the front cover folio, recto side, of phuuk 40, the title Sadd is written additionally in Khmer script, accompanied by some further notes in Khmer script, the last three words seemingly to be read /cop paj ləəj/ "... has come to the end".

Remarks.

The mention of the date of writing the original manuscript, from which the present one was copied, is very rare. As for the date of the manuscript found at Wat Phumin, two conflicting years are given: CS 9(2)3, Year of the Goat |pii raka|, and CS 9(5)3, Year of the Hare |pii thq| (the latter date appears on phuuk 21 and 23 only). In fact, the middle of the 3-digit-numbers, as they appear in the colophons, can be interpreted as both either "2" or "5". It could be tempting then to assume that some of the phuuk were actually written at different times, i.e. one part in CS 923, the other one 30 years later? The puzzle centering around the correct date of this manuscript has, indeed, a few more components. One is the fact that all colophons were quite obviously written by the same scribe, in an orthography of undoubtedly very ancient style; how can it then be explained that two different cyclical years are mentioned (Year of the Hare vs. Year of the Goat) which match with CS 923 and 953, respectively?

Another strange fact is the mention, on the Front Cover colophon of phuuk 8, that this phuuk belongs to the same "last bundle" of the Sadd like all the other fasciculi: this would mean that the last bundle of this text must have consisted of 40 phuuk — a number fairly exceeding the normal size of palm-leaf bundles the largest ones of which generally comprise not more than 20-24 phuuk. Although it would be tempting to think of possible answers to the problems, it is preferred here to wait for a more detailed study of the manuscript which is about 300 years older than the one used by Helmer Smith for his edition of this important Pāli grammar. For a study of old NT orthography, the colophons of this manuscript offer some interesting pieces of evidence one of which is the consistent differentiation between the equivalents of |ai| (/?aj máj maal/|) and |aü| (/?aj máj müan/|), a characteristic which is also found in the colophons of other early Pāli manuscripts of this collection, for instance in 04 (Mil). Another peculiarity is the shape of the character |y₄| used for representing ancient /*?j/ (or /*?ñ/, resp.): a digraphic combination of

the NT equivalent of the CT /?ɔɔ ?àap/ plus |-y|, i.e. a true equivalent of the CT digraph /?ɔɔ ?àap/ plus /jɔɔ ják/, a form which is widely used in ancient Northern Thai manuscripts of the 16th c. (as for the shape of this character, see HUNDIUS 1990: 176, allograph no. 144, variant no. 4).

13. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.11 [?]; Vessantarajātaka- [at̄thavaññanā-] tīkā ("TĪKĀ MAHĀVESSANTARA")

Roll 9, 042". Dc no 0250, ms no 974 (previously no. 758 [2]). 1 phuuk, 6 lines. Incomplete. CS 940 = AD 1578. Wat Bun Yuen (NT /wāt bun ñuean/). Amphoe Sa (/sää/), Nan.

Begins: p 1 = *jha* v, line 6

]va āgantvā imam̄ brahārañam̄ pattomhi tayo bede ca jānāmi mahallako ca homi na taruṇo tvam̄ eva r[ū]passa mayham̄ puttasañkhāta dhanam̄ datvā saggam̄ gamissase vā[2] [sa]ce tvam̄ |pa|ñcubho, [commentary on Ja VI 544,20*]

Ends: p 46 = *ñah* v, line 6

]nāya pana mando 'ti aññāñīti vuttattā ca. mando bhogavināse cādhake muj(jā) paṭusvā 'pi abhidhānappakaraṇe vuttattā ca. kiñ nu jhāyasi kiñ kārañāma yasi (adā?) [commentary on Ja VI 565,5*]

Colophons.

(1) p 26 = *na* v, left margin

|kap waṣ paak₄ ñuua|

/kap wāt pāak ñua/

Translation.

[Made for] Wad Paak Ñuua.

(2) no no., preceded by p 46 [= *ñah* v]

|tikaa māhaaweessantaraataka an "nii" "saan⁴" nai pii₃ plöök₃ yii
cuļasakraaj "dai" 940 ūua lāā|

/tikā mahāwēetsāntalā? caataka? ?an nī sāaŋ naj pī pāek nīi
cūnlāsakhāat dāj kāw lōj sīi sip tua lēe/

Translation.

[This copy of the] tīkā* on the *Mahāvessantarajātaka* was made in the Year of the Tiger [pii pōök yii], CS 940.

* tīkā (P): 'subcommentary'

NB: This and the following text belong to the same manuscript.

Remarks.

This text is different from the *Līnaṭṭhappakāsinī*, on which see v. HINÜBER 1985:15-20; its relation to the *Mahāvessantaravivaraṇa* preserved in the National Library, Bangkok (cf. v. HINÜBER 1983:83), has still to be investigated. (O. v. Hinüber).

14. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Vessantarajātaka-Aṭṭhakathā

Roll 9, 043". Dc no 0251, ms no 758 (previously no. 758 [3]). 1 phuuk (= phuuk 3), 6 lines. Incomplete. CS 940 = AD 1578. Wat Bun Yuen. Amphoe Sa, Nan.

Begins: p 1 = *tha* r

puritatta evam tam bhavantam mañamano ahan tam putte yācitum
āgami dāsatthāya putte me yācito dehi tvanti yojanā. evam ādito
paṭṭhāya pañcannañ ca mahānadinam upatti veditabbā, [commentary on Ja VI 543,6*]

Ends: p 48 = *cah* v, line 6

pakampitvā nirantaram anekasatarāvam anekasahassarāvam nadanti
ravanti uccārenti ahosi. saddo te tidivam gato 'ti sādhukārasaddo tava
dā, [commentary on Ja VI 571,9*]

Colophons.

(1) The following Pāli colophon is written on the reverse side of the Front Cover Folio (preceding p 2, 4, 6, etc.):

|nā ca phuuk₃ 3. idam aṭṭhakathā Mahāvessantarajātakam mahātherena
Sujātanācakena paññāvisesam nāma antevāsi(...){2} tvā ārāme
Sippikamukhe nāma thapitam | {23}|

Translation.

From akṣara nā to akṣara ca; 3rd phuuk.- This [copy of the] *Aṭṭhakathā* (commentary) on the *Mahāvessantarajātaka*, [a work of] excellent insight, was made at the behest of the Mahāthera Sujātanācaka, while staying (...) at a Monastery called "Sippikamukha".*

* Sippika (P) "artisan"; sippikā "pearl oyster". The second meaning would make a much better NT name: Waṭ Paak Hoqy (the change from |a| to |ā| occurs much too frequently as to be deemed an important feature) although one would have expected the Pāli equivalent of the Monastery's NT name (|Waṭ Paak Nuua| "Monastery of the Oxen's Mouth" as mentioned in the NT colophons (see below, 14 [2]).

(2) p 1 = *tha* r, on left margin

|"saan⁴" "wai⁵" kap waṣ paak₄ ṙuua|
/sāaŋ wāj kap wāt pāak ḡua/

Translation.

Made for Waṭ Paak Nuua.

NB: Another colophon which is identical with (2) is engraved on the left margin of p 3; there is only one difference: instead of |nuua| "bull, ox", the morphonological variant |wuua| is used.

Remarks.

This text is not identical with the Jātaka-Atṭhavanṇanā. (O. v. Hintüber).

**15. CAKKAVĀLADĪPĀNĪ [2.9] Author: Sirimāṅgala
(AD 1520)**

Roll 8, 75". Dc no 0235, ms no 721. 10 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete. CS 1195 = AD 1833. Wat Sung Men (NT /wāt sūuŋ mēn/; CT /wát súuŋ mēn/). Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Begins:

namass' atthu. anantaka cakkavālam ve yena gataṁ asamsayam natvā saddhammasaṅghan tam lokavidum anantagum nānāganthesu sāratham gaheṭabbar samādiya karissā 'ham subodhattam cakkavālakadipanīm anusuyyā nisāmetha api labheta chekata[2]nti. tattha cakkavālam nāma lokadhātum

Ends: phuuk 10, p 47, line 2c-4

yam manussakam vassa[3]sattam t[ā]vatiṁsānam eso eko rattindivo |pe| tena saṁvaccharena dibbavassasahassa tesam āyuppamāṇam. manussaṇanā[4]ya tisso tisso ca vassakoṭiyo saṭṭhiñ ca vassasatasahassāni. yāni manussakāni dve vassasatāni. yāmāṇam eso eko, Cakkav (S^e 1980) 188,20.

Colophons.**(1) Front Side of "mai hlaap.**

|tuua paa|ii cakkawaa|adipanii mii sip phuuk₄ lää gruu paa "cau kāñcana araññawaa[2]sii müüa,ñ 'brā peen "glau" sāddhaa lää sissa "cau dañ muuar, sāddhaa baay noqk, mii māhaaraaj "cau" müüa,ñ 'brā° lää māhaaraaj "cau" müüa,ñ 'naan peen "glau" [3] lää pajaanaarattha dañ muuar, "brōqm kan "saan yañ akkhrādham, kāmbii an "nii "waiy joodhaka (!) buddhasaasnaa 5 ban brā wassaa lää "saan nai müüa,ñ 'naan° lää|

/túa baalii cakkawaalātīpanii mii sip phūuk lee kuu baa cāw kāñcana? ḥalanñāwaasii māaŋ phē pēn kāw sattha lē? sitsa? cāw taŋ muan sattha paaj nōok mii mahālāat cāw māaŋ phē lē? mahālāat cāw māaŋ nān pēn kāw lē? pacaanaalāttha? taŋ muan phōqm kān sāaŋ nāŋ ḥakkhalātham kāmpii ḥan nū wāj coothāka? pūtthā?sāasanaa hāa pan phā? wātsāa lee sāaŋ naj māaŋ nān lee/

Translation.

The Pāli text of C° - consisting of 10 phuuk. The Venerable Forest-dweller Gruu Paa Kañcana, Müüañ 'Brā, as initiating monastic supporter together with his followers, and the Royal Ruler of Müüañ 'Brā as well as the Royal Ruler of Müüañ 'Naan as leading lay supporters, and all the common people [of both states] joined in sponsoring the making of this Dhamma manuscript, wishing thereby to ensure that the Teachings of Buddha (Pāli: Buddhasāsana) will last for 5,000 years. Made in Müüañ 'Naan.

(2) Front Cover Folio (preceding p 1, 3), line 1-3

|paa|ii cakkawaa|adipanii phuuk₄ "ton dañ muuar, mii sip phuuk₄ [2] culasakraaj "dai 1195 tuua plii 'kaa "sai| [3] (s. line 1)

/baalii cakkawaalātīpanii phūuk tōn taŋ muan mii sip phūuk cūnlāsakhāat dāj pan nāŋ lōoj kāw sip hāa tūa pī kāa sāj/

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of the] C° - First phuuk; [altogether] consisting of ten phuuk. CS 1195 - Year of the Snake (|pii 'kaa "sai|).

(3) "mai hlaap, reverse side.

|"saan 'müüa,ñ sakraaj "dai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai lää| sāaŋ māa sakhaat dāj pan nāŋ lōoj kāw sip hāa tūa pī kāa sāj lee/

Translation.

Made in [C] S 1195, Year of the Snake.

(4) Front Cover Folio, reverse side (preceding p 2 = *ka v*)

|*tuua paaññi c° phuuk₄ "ton lää somde, ch mahaaraaj müüañ 'naan "saan "gaam juu gruu paa kañcana əraññawaasii müüañ, 'brää nibbāna paccayo hotu |*

/*túa baalii cakkawaalätipanii phùuk tõn lee söndet mahäaläat maañ nän sääñ kám cuu khuu baa käncañ? ?alanññawaasii maañ phê.../*

Translation.

The Pāli text of C° - His Majesty the Great Royal Ruler of Müüañ 'Naan [sponsored] the making [of this manuscript] in support of the Venerable Forest-dweller Gruu Paa Kañcana, Müüañ 'Brää.

(5) phuuk 2, Front Cover Folio, recto side.

|*paaññi c° phuuk₄ "thuuar₃ sqoñ₃ culasakhraaj ... (s. above, colophon [2], line 2) "saan nai müüañ, 'naan° lää 'thqoñ₃, dhaan (sic!) "lääw' taam capap 'klau° |*

/*baalii cakkawaalätipanii phùuk thüan sõoñ cünläskhàat däj pan nän lój käw sip hää tua píi kàa sääñ sääñ naj maañ nän lee thòg thaan leew täam cabap kàw/*

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of the] C° - Second phuuk, ... made in Müüañ 'Naan. Thoroughly checked with the original.

(6) no no., preceded by p 50 = *ga "ton, v*

|*mahaawan bhikkhu rikkhitta "waiy "gaam juu warabuddhåsaasanaa bra goodom "cau₂ 'tqoñ "dau₂ pañcasahassä wassaa traap phootthakapatta aayu pamaana "dää 'cin° lää|*

/*mahäawan phikkhu? lïkkhitta? wáj kám cuu walä? pütthä? sásanaa phä? koodom cäw tòw taw pánca? sahatsa? wätsäa thalàap phòotthakapatta? ?aaññ? pamaanä? téé cïñ lee/*

Translation.

Written by Mahaawan Bhikkhu in support of the Excellent Teachings of Buddha so that they may stay for 5,000 years - as long as the palm-leaves last.

(7) no no., preceded by p 49 = *ga "ton, r*

|*paripunña "lääw" yaam 'diañ, 'kää "khaa "nqoy lää na sobhati sak yaañ lää [2] mahaawan bhikkhu khiañ, paañ müüañ 'yuu wäd "ton hnu₂r, "naam saa lää 'pq{q} 'jaan hlaay lää|*

/*palipunnä? leew ñaam tñaj këe khää nñoj lee nñ? sôophäti? sak jàat lee mahäawan phikkhu? khian pñañ mäa jùu wät tõn nün nám sää lee bò cäañ läaj lee/*

Translation.

Accomplished at noon time; my writing is not beautiful at all. Written by myself, Mahaawan Bhikkhu, while staying at Wäd "Ton Hnur, "Naam (?) Saa. I am [a] very unskilful [scribe]!

(8) phuuk 3, no no., preceded by p 44 = *chä v*

|*80000 4000 "khaa khqo "hüü naa puñ₂, "gaam juu tuua "khaa peen "glau° lää guu paa aacaan 'bqo 'mää 'bii "nqoñ₃, 'juu° gon "dää qii-hlii dö [2] pugla "phuu qai "dai 'lau₂ 'gqoy" biccaranaa bai" dö tuua 'pq ñaam heet cai 'pq "tañ lää|*

/*pëet mæñ sìi pan khää khö hñu naa bun kám cuu tua khää pën kaw lë? khuu baa ?aacäan pô mëe píi nñoj cuu khon téé dii lïi tõ? pukkälä? phuñ daj däj lâw kôj pïcalanaa paj tõ? tua bò ñaam hèet cäj bò tñaj lee/*

Translation.

84,000 - may the merit acquired [by writing this phuuk] support me first, as well as all of my revered teachers, my parent and my brothers and sisters, for ever and ever! Whoever makes use of this manuscript for recitation, do pay attention; my writing did not turn out beautiful, because my mind was not strong enough.

(9) phuuk 5, no no., preceded by p 42

|culasakkaraaja "dai 1195 tuua plii 'kaa "sai rikkhitta paañ 'mūua³
sathi[t] saamraar wañ nuua dääñ 'daan "tai wiiañ₃ (written: wiiar₃) "nan⁴
lää paarii₄ cakkawaaladipanii₄ phuuk₄ (.) lää düüa₃n 12 qok₃ 6 'gaam
'braam⁵ 'waa "dai wan meeñ-'maan⁶ deey₂ (sic!) lää|

/cūnlāsakkalaacă? dăj pan năg lóoj kăw sip hăa tăa păi kăa săj
lîkkhitta? păañ măa sathit samlaan wăt gúa deej dăan tăj wiag nán lee
baalii cakkawaalătipanii phuuk (?) lee dăan sip săcăj ?òok hok khâm
phâm wâa dăj wan mej măan taj lee/

Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake. Written while I was staying happily at Wañ Nuua Dääñ* [situated to the] South of the city [of Müüañ 'Naan]. The Pāli text of the C°, phuuk (5?) - on the 6th day of the waxing moon, in the 12th [lunar] month, corresponding to the day [...] of the Mon Burmese-Dai calendar.

* This monastery still exists today.

(10) phuuk 9, Front Cover Folio (in the middle of the page)

|sakkaraaja "dai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai somde₃cc ma[2]haaraaj
anantaraaya raajaadhiraaj "cau droñ raaja[3]saddhaa ton swöoy nai
nandapurii "dai "saan yañ dhamm tuua paa[4]lii c° an "nii" "waiy
jootakkă wərabuddhəsaa[5]ssnaa 5 ban wəssaa nibb[ā]napac[c]ayo hotu
me|

/sakkalaacă? dăj pan năg lóoj kăw sip hăa tăa păi kăa săj
sömdet mahăalăat ?anantalañă? laacaathilăat căw thaloj laacăsatthaa tōn
sawăej naj nantăpulii dăj săañ năg tham tăa baalii cakkawaalătipanii
?an níi wáj cootakka? walăpătthă?săasanaa hăa pan wătsăa năppaană?
patcañoo hăotu? mee/

Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake. His Majesty Anantaraaya Raajaadhiraaj ("Cau")*, Great Royal Ruler of Nandapurii [Müüañ 'Naan], faithfully sponsored the making of this manuscript of the Pāli text of the C°, wishing thereby to ensure that Buddha's Excellent Teachings will last for 5,000 years. - May this [meritorious deed] contribute to my attainment of Nibbāna!

*NB: This and similar mentions in the colophons of phuuk 9 and 10, as well as those to be found in 23, 29, and 30, are referring to "Cau Mahaayassaraaja (CT name /căw mahăajót/ who ruled over the Siamese vassal state of Nan from AD 1825 to 1835. (The same colophon is to be found on the 2nd cover folio of phuuk 10).

(11) phuuk 9, no no., preceded by p 45

|sakkaraaja "dai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "saiy somde₃cc parammapobbit
sihaa anantaraaya raajaadhiraas "cau droñ raaja[s]addhaa jootakkă
buddhəsaassnaa nibbānapac[c]ayo hotu nic[c]am [2] dhuvar̄ dhuvar̄|

/sakkalaacă? dăj pan năg lóoj kăw sip hăa tăa păi kăa săj
palammăbăpít sihăa ?anantalañă? laacaathilăat căw thaloj laacăsatthaa
cootakka? pătthă?săasanaa .../

Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake. His Majesty Somdec Parammapobbit Sihaa Anantaraaya Raajaadhiraaj*, [Royal Ruler of Müüañ 'Naan], faithfully supported Buddha's Teachings ...

*see NB to (10).- Virtually the same text is to be found in:

(12) phuuk 10, 3rd Cover Folio

|somde₂cc parammapqbbiṭṭ anantaraya raajaaddhiraas "cau droṇ
raajas°...|

(For phonematic transcription and translation, see [11])

Remarks.

This cosmographical treatise written, according to the Pāli colophon at the end of the 10th phuuk, in CS 882 (AD 1520) by Sirimaṅgala, a native of Chiang Mai, has been edited in Siamese script, and translated into Standard Thai, by the National Library, Bangkok, in 1980 (ISBN 974-7920-17-4). [For the colophon, see pp. 228–30 of the above-mentioned edition]. The text of this edition is based on some 15 manuscripts, all written in Khmer script, kept at the National Library. Although no dates are given, it may be assumed that none of these dates back to the pre-Ratanakosin period, i.e. the time before AD 1782. In the library of Wat Phra Singh, Chiang Mai, there is kept a palm-leaf manuscript written in Lan Na script which is dated CS 900 (|pii pōök sed|), i.e. only 18 years after the original work was completed by its author! This manuscript (made at the behest of the Saṅgharaajaa Candaramsi Araññawaasii) which is regrettably not complete, will soon be available on microfilm; a photograph of its first phuuk Cover Folio can be found in PENTH 1983:88.- The *Cakkavālādīpanī* is not mentioned in CEDES (1915) and in the CPD.

16. CAKKAVĀLĀDĪPĀNĪ [2.9] Author: Sirimaṅgala
(AD 1520)

Roll 8, 90". Dc no 0236, ms no 709. 10 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete. CS 1231 = AD 1869. Wat Chang Kham (/wāt cāaj kám/; present official CT name: /wāt chāaj khám wōcráwīhāan/). Amphoe Muang, Nan.

Begins:

namo tass' atthu. anantaka cakkavālām ve yena gatām asaṃsayām natvā sadhammasaṅghan tam lokavidum anantagum nānāganthesu sāratham (!)

gahetabbam samadiya (!) karissāham subodhattham
cakkavāla {la} dipani a[2]nusuyyā nissametha ...

Ends: phuuk 10, p 47, line 2b

eso eko rattindivo tāyarat[3]yo māso tena māsena dvādasamāsiyo samvaccharo (bhū)tena samvaccharena dibbānipañcavassasatāni tesam āyuppamāṇam. manussagaṇāya yanavuti [4] vassasatasahassāni. yam manussakām vassasatām tāvatiṃsānam eso eko rattindivo |pe| tenu samvaccharena dibbavassahassa tesam āyuppamāṇam. manussagaṇānāya tisso tisso ca vassakoṭiyo saṭṭhiñ ca vassasatasahassāni. yāni manussakāni dve vassasatāni. yāmānam eso eko, Cakkav(S^e 1980) 188,20

Colophons.

(1) phuuk 2, no no., preceded by p 53

|(...) "sai sradejh "khau maa nai düüar, 11 "khün" 'gaam 1 'braam 'waa "daiy wan 1 daiy "ruuañ, me, (...) "daiy 11 tuua paripūñña "lääw" yaam (...) teeja phla pur, an "khaa "daiy "tääm dhāmmādaan an" "jüü" - 'waa" paa[2] (...) "waiy "gaam juu saasnaa gootama "cau traap 'tqo" dau 5000 brā wassaa "nii "dää dīi-hlii *nibbāna[m]* paramām su{k}kham nic[c]am dhuvam dhuvam (...) phla pur, an "khaa "dai tääm dhāmmādaan an "nii 'cuñ, "hüü peen (...) pattha uppā[3] (...) tuua "khaa lää 'bōq" 'mää 'bii "nōqñ, "juu gon "hüü "daiy "hwaay rōqđ, cōqđ, müüa,ñ neerabbaan nai anaagatakan an" cak, maa baay "hnaa "nan 'cuñ, cak, mii "dää dīi-hlii nic[c]am dhuvam dhuvam 'cin" dō|

|(...) sāj saladet khāw maa naj duan sip ?et khān khām nāñ phām wāa dāj wan nāñ taj lūaj mēt (...) dāj sip ?et tūa palipūnnā? lēew ūaam (...) tēecā? phala? bun ?an khāa dāj tēem thammātaan ?an cāu wāa baa[lii cakkawaalātīpanii] wāj kām cuu sāasanaa kootamā? cāw thalāap tōo tāw hāa pan phā? wātsāa nī tēe dii līi (...) phala? bun ?an khāa dāj tēem thammātaan ?an nī cūj hāa pēn (...) pattha? uppā(...) tūa khāa lē? pōo mēe pī nōqñ cūu khon hāa dāj wāaj lōt cōt māq neelāppaan naj ?anaakātakāan ?an cak maa paaj nāa nān cūj cak mii tēe dii līi nītcāj thūwaj thūwaj cīp tō?/

Translation.

(...), at the beginning of the 11th [lunar] month, on the 1st day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the day [named] |"ruuañ međ| [in the] Dai [tradition] (...) [this copy of the 2nd phuuk of the C°] was completed at (...) time. [May the] power of the merit* that I have earned by writing this Dhamma gift which bears the name "[The] Pāli [text of] C°" support the Teachings of Lord Gotama throughout the five thousand years - may this come true, indeed, [and may] the power of the merit* that I [have earned] by writing this Dhamma gift [support] me and my parents as well as each of my brothers and sisters so that they all may safely swim across [the ocean of Samsāra] and reach the realm of Nibbāna in future times that lie ahead - may this wish come true!

* lit.: "May the power of the fruit of the merit ...".

(2) no no. , preceded by p 41 (2 lines):

|cuñsakkaraaja "dai 1231 tuua plii kad "sai düüa,n sraawaññ güü-'waa" düüa,n 10 hooraa rääm 2 'gaam' 'braam' 'waa "dai wan kuñ(ja)waala thnai daiy 'waa wan añaan yaam cak₄ kqoñ, lään 'klää "khaa lää dhämmajee, bhikkhu rikkhitta wiggaha "tääm khiiar, plaañ 'müüa, 'yuu meettaa peen "cau aaraammädh[2]patti wađ 'daa" mahiñsaa 'dii" "nan 'ciñ" cak₄ rap raajani,mon 'hääñ mahaaraaj rikkhitta paalii dhämm, an" 'juü'-'waa" cakkawaaladipañii an" "nii "waiy "hüü" peen 'dii" "hwai saa sakkara puujaa "waiy kap saasnaa brä gootamä traap 5,000 brä wassaa lää|

/cūnlässakkalaacä? däj pan sōoñ lój sääm sip ?et tūa pñi kat sñj duan salaawan kñu wâa duan sip hõolaa lääm sōoñ khâm phâm wâa däj wan kñncä? waalä? thañj taj wâa wan ?aŋkaan ñaam cak kñoñ leeñ këe khää lee thammacaj phïkkhu? lïkkhitta? wïkkäha? tñem khian pñañ mäa jùu mëettäa pën cäw ?aalaammäthïppati? wät tâa mahiñsää tñi nán cñiñ cak läp laacñimon hèn mahälaat lïkkhitta? baalii tham ?an cñu wâa cakkawaalätiñpanii ?an nñi wáj hñu pën tñi wñj sää sakkalä? pñucaa wáj kap sääsanaa phä? kootamä? thaläap hñä pan phä? wätsää lee/

Translation.

CS 1231 - Year of the Snake, in the month [called] |sraawañña| [according to the Khmer tradition], i.e. the 10th lunar month, on the 2nd day of the waning moon, i.e. the day called |kuñjawaara| [in the Khmer tradition], |wan añaar| [in the Mon tradition, and ...??... in the] Dai [tradition], just before the time of the sunset drum.- Written by Dhammajaiy Bhikkhu. The writing was done while I was staying, spreading Loving-Kindness [among the lay community] as Abbot of the monastery called Wađ 'Daa Mahiñsaa, after having received the Royal invitation of His Majesty the Great Ruler [of Müüan 'Naan] to join in making a manuscript of the Pāli work named C°, in order to enable people to pay their worship to it, and enhance the Teachings of Lord Gotama throughout the 5,000 years of [their predicted duration].

(3) phuuk 5, p 41, line 4

|sraade,jh "lääw" yaam tuud, "jaay kää "khaa lää bindaa bhikkhu lää khiiar, "duuay ton eeñ ñiiaw" "cau lää-naa|

/saladet léew ñaam tùut cáaj këe khää lee pintaa phïkkhu? lee khian döj tñõn ?eeñ diaw cäw lee naa/

Translation.

Accomplished shortly after noon-time - Bindaa Bhikkhu did the writing all by himself, my dear!

(4) phuuk 5 , p 42 , line 1-2

|"khaa khiiar, "gaam juu du 'bii" hluuañ "cau dhämmajeeyy, wađ "paan 'daa mahiñsaa 'kää "khaa lää "khaa khiiar, paañ 'müüa, 'yuu" meettaa sñddhaa "paan hnaad tuua 'pø ñaam sak glaay khau, 'daan güü yaak₄ ja (!) 'aan teem dhii (!) 'hlø' 'nøø" öö, öö, [2] cundasakkabda "dai 1231 tuua plii kad "sai "khii "gaan "tääm haa" |

/khää khian kám cuu tñ? pñi lúaq cäw thammacaj wät bñan tâa mahiñsää këe khää lee khää khian pñañ mäa jùu mëettäa satthaa bñan nñat tûa bñ/

gaam sak kaaj khăw tāan kăt năak ca ?āan tēm thii lò "nōo* ?əə ?əə [2] cūnda? sakkaptā? dăj pan sōoŋ lōoŋ sāam sip ?et tăa păi kat sāj khī khāan tēm haa/

* The use of the tone marker 2 in the manuscript (transliterated as '|nōo'|) is obviously used to indicate the tonal quality "high-falling" on a particle normally associated with /' / ("low-falling"). This tonal change is not a matter of "word tone", but rather a manifestation of expressive intonation carried by a special class of sentence particles like /nōo/, /nəə/, /naa/ etc. As for the tonal notation of expressive sentence particles such as /"nōo/ in the above text, see HUNDIUS 1990:113.

Translation.

I have written this in support of my Elder Monk-Brother Dhammajaiy of Wađ "Paan 'Daa Mahim̄saa. I did the writing while spreading Loving-Kindness among the lay community of "Paan Hnaađ. My writing does not look beautiful at all. Senior people are worried that it will be very difficult to read; oh yes, there is no doubt about that. CS 1231 - Year of the Snake; I was not keen on writing at all!

(5) phuuk 7, no no., preceded by p 45

|dibba woñ saamaneer|
/tippawoñ sāamaneen/

Translation.

[Written by] Dibbawoñ Saamaneer (Novice D°)*

*dibbawoñ: < P *dibbavamsa*

(6) phuuk 8 , p 47, line 4 – p 48, line 1

|cuļasakkaraaja "dai 1231 tuua plii kad "sai đüüa, 11 qoñ, 10 'gaañ 'braam" 'waa" "dai meeñ wan 4 daiy" pöök, san 'kăä "khaa lăä 'jüü "khaa

'waa" ariya bhikkhu paan 'müüa, 'yuu [48.1] meettaa saddhaa wađ "paan khqor, müüañ, buua wan "nan lăä|

/cūnlăsakkalaacă? dăj pan sōoŋ lōoŋ sāam sip ?et tăa păi kat sāj duan sip ?et ?ōk sip khām phām wāa dăj mej wan sìi taj pōek sān kēe khāa lee cāe wāa ?alīñā? phīkkhu? păaŋ māa jūu mēettăa satthaă wāt bāan khōñ muaŋ pua wan nán lee/

Translation.

CS 1231 - Year of the Snake (|pii kad "sai|); [accomplished] on the 10th day of the waxing moon, in the 11th [lunar] month, corresponding to the 4th day [in the] Mon [tradition called] |pōök san| [in the] Dai [tradition]. My name is Ariya-Bhikkhu. [Written] while I was spreading Loving-Kindness among the lay community of Wađ "Paan Khoqor, Müüañ Buua, on that very day.

(7) phuuk 9, p 49.4 - 50.3

|cuļasakkaraaja "dai 1231 tuua marooñ snaam kambooja khrqom, bhisai waa[50.1]lăa thñai dai bhaasaa 'waa plii kat "sai(...) sudhamma bhikkhu likkhitta jootaka mahaaraaja müüa, n 'naan wan "nan lăä "lăäw" [2] đüuar, 10 "khün" 14 'gaañ 'braam 'waa" dai wan 7 dai 'klaa me, t yaam kqoñ, nāay srade,jh yaam "nan lăä haan müüañ, buua huua müüañ, năäñ, 'doñ" "hañ 'di" 'plaa mā "hyaa 'kqor, tuua 'pō nāam (...) ee 'pō nāam ee ee 'gō 'pō nāam [3] hlaay huua faay "naam "lqom, "naam wăäd "qom, teem dhii lăä naay hōoy'|

/cūnlăsakkalaacă? dăj pan sōoŋ lōoŋ sāam sip ?et tăa maloogn sanam kămpooçă? khōñ phisăj waală? thañjăj taj phaasăa wāa păi kat sāj(...) suthammă? phīkkhu? likkhitta? cootaka? mahăalaacă? muaŋ nāan wan nán lee lēew duan sip khăñ sip sìi khām phām wāa dăj wan cet taj kăa mēt nāam nán lee hăñ muaŋ pua hăa muaŋ qeeg tōñ hág tīi păa mañña kōn tăa bō qaañ (...) ?ee bō qaañ ?ee ?ee kō bō qaañ lăaj hăa făaj nám lōom nám wēet ?ōom tēm thii lee naaj hōej/

Translation.

CS 1231 - In the Year called [maroon] in the Khmer tradition, and [pii kad "sai] [in the] Dai tradition. - Written by Sudhamma-Bhikkhu in support of the Great Royal Ruler of Müüān 'Naan, in the 10th [lunar] month, on the 14th day of the waxing moon which corresponds to the 7th day [of the Mon calendar], [called] ['kaa med] [in the] Dai [tradition], at the time of the morning drum; accomplished at that time, [when I was staying in a remote village] between the last settlements of Müüān Buua, and the first settlements of Müüān Nääñ, far out in the abandoned fields where love-grass abounds. My writing does not look beautiful, indeed; the head of the weir surrounded by water, water all around: dreadful, oh dear!

NB: love-grass: Chrysopogon aciculatus (NT /mañña kòn/; CT /jâa câw chûu/, lit.: "Don Juan-Grass"), a grass with seeds that adhere to objects passing by. By pressing on the skin, these seeds may cause pain. Cf. McFARLAND (3.1956:900). The mention of "the weir surrounded by water ..." probably not only conveys the rainy season's mood of desolation in a remote village, but is also meant as an allusion to the "inundated" look of the handwriting.

(8) phuuk 10 , no no. , preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc.

|sakraaj 1231 dùüa, 9 duiya "lääw" lää bhikkhu leekkhamatti lää
"cau hõoy' swaad swaad "hnaa dhap plaay c°|

/sakhàat pan sõoj lõoj sääm sip ?et tua duan kaw tütinä? lëew lee
phikkhu? lëekkhamätti? lee caw hõej swaat swaat nää thäp pääj
cakkawaalätpaani/

Translation.

[C]S 1231 - In the 9th [lunar] month, on the 2nd [day of the waxing/waning moon?], this copy of the last phuuk of the C° was] completed. The writing was done by a Bhikkhu himself ... Back Cover Folio of C°.

(9) phuuk 10 , p 48 , line 1c-2a

|paripunnä srlade,jh "lääw" yaam kqõñ, [2] ñaay 'kää "khaa lää tuua 'pq
ñam hlaay|

/palipunnä? saladet lëew ñaam kõõj ñaaj këe khää lee tua bò ñaam läaj/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the morning drum. The writing does not look beautiful at all.

17. CĀMADEVIVAÑSA [4.2] Author: Bodhiram̄si
(probably 15th c.)

Roll 9, 52". Dc no 0253, ms no 926. 5 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1195 = AD 1833. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Begins:

namatthu. ādiccavam̄so pavaro jino yo manussajāto dipadānam indo
byāmappabhāso asipamāro [read: abhipamāro] mañipajoto jina[m] tam
namāmi gambhiram attham punam sududdasam sā sappabi
ji[2]vajasinero (?) (h)eññham nānānayānam munisevitam tam sukhumam
dhammam pavaram namāmi

Ends: phuuk 5, p 38 = tī v, line 3b

evam dhātupāññhāriyaniddeso[4] ca puna patham vam̄yam nimuttā (!)
ca Bodhiram̄sinā nāma mahātherena lañkato pañcadasamo vatto[5]
niññhito Cāmadevivāñssā(!) niññhitā

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

|tuua paaññi deewant̄asuuñ mii saam phuuk, lää tuua paaññi
caamqadeewiwanñsa mii "haa phuuk, lää gruu paa kāñcañā araññawaasiñ
müüa, 'bräa peen "glau" saddhaa "brøqm, kap sissa "cau" dañ muuar,
"sañ yañ dhämm kambii "nii lää "sañ nai müüa, 'naan|

/túa baalii teewantasùut mii sääm phùuk lee túa baalii
cäämäteewiwaŋsa? mii hää phùuk lee kuu baa kääncanä? ɬalanñäwaasä
määŋ phêe pén kaw sattha phóom kap sitsa? caw taj muan sääŋ nñaj
tham kääpää níi lee sääŋ naj määŋ nän/

Translation.

The Pāli text of Deewantasuu, comprising 3 phuuk; the Pāli text of C°, comprising 5 phuuk.- The Venerable Forest-dweller Gruu Paa Kañcana, Müüan 'Brää, as initiating monastic supporter, together with all his followers joined in the making of this Dhamma manuscript.- Made in Müüan 'Naan.

(2) Front Cover Folio:

|phuuk₄ "ton caamädeewiwaŋsa paalii c° lää phuuk₄ "ton" 'dqoñ, dhaan
"lääw" taam capap 'klau" |

/phùuk tõn cäämäteewiwaŋsa? baalii cäämäteewiwaŋsa? lee phùuk
tõn tõŋ thaan lëew tääm cabap kaw/

Translation.

First phuuk [of the] C° - Pāli text ... Thoroughly checked with the original.

(3) "mai hlaap, reverse side (preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc.)

|"saañ 'müüa" sqraaj "dai 1195 tūua plii 'klaa "sai lää|
/sääŋ mää sakħaat däj pan nñaj lóoj kaw sip hää túa pii kaa sääj lee/

Translation, see (4)

(4) phuuk 1, no no., preceded by p 46

|cuðassakabda 1195 tūua plii 'klaa "sai" dñüüa,ñ 10 huuraa rääm 1 (hok)
'gaam wan aŋgaan daiy koo yii yaam trää 'suum [?] paripunna lää
nibbānapaccayo hotu metteyya santike anāgate nicam dhuvam lää|

/cuda?sakaptä? pan nñaj lóoj kaw sip hää túa pii kaa sääj duan sip
hüulaa nñaj khäm wan ?aŋkaan taj kot nñi ñaam thëe sùu [?] palipunnä? lee
nippaanä? patcañoo hōotu? mëettäjñä? sántikëe ?anaakätëe nñtcäj thüwaj
lee/

Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake, in the 10th lunar month, accomplished on the 1st day of the waning moon, [corresponding to the day called] |wan aŋgaar| [in the Mon tradition, and] |koo yii| [in the] Dai [tradition], at the time of the [morning/ evening] horn (...).

(5) phuuk 2, Front Cover Folio:

|paalii c° phuuk₄ 2 'dqoñ, dhaan "lääw" taam capap 'klau" |

(for phonematic transcription and translation, see above, colophon (2).

(6) phuuk 2, p 50 = ghu v

|cułasakkabda "dai 1195 tūua plii 'klaa "sai" dñüüa,ñ 11 daiy ñap pol (!?)
meeñ wan can paripunna "lääw" yaam kqoñ, hñaa (sic!) [kää] "khaa lää
arahantāmaggayāñam nibbānapaccayo hontu me lää|

/cūnlä?sakkaptä? däj pan nñaj lóoj kaw sip hää túa pii kaa sääj duan
sip ?et taj ñap bon (?) meñ wan can palipunnä? leeñ ñaam kooñ ñaaj
[këe] khää lee.../

Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake, in the 11th [lunar] month, accomplished on a day [called] |ñap...| [in the] Dai [tradition, and] |wan can| ("Monday") [in the] Mon [tradition], at the time of the morning drum.

(7) phuuk 3, p 54 = cai v, line 1

|Sihīganidāñam niñthitam atthaparicchedavaññanā niñthitā sakkaraaja
1195 tūua plii 'klaa "sai dñüüa,ñ 11 qoñ, (...) 'gaam daiy rwaay s"ñaa"

meen wan 5 likhita paripunna pōqramuuar, "phuu "khaa 'puu' hnaan deebi, likhita "gaam juu saasanaa nibbānapaccaya [3] hontu metteyyasantike (...) |

/sakkalaacā? dāj pan nēj lōj kāw sip hāa tūa pī kāa sāj dāan sip ?et ?ōok (..) khām taj lwaaj sajāa mej wan hāa līkhita? palīpūnnā? bōolāmuan phūu khāa pūu nāan teepin līkhita? kām cuu sāasanaa .../

Translation.

... completed on the (..) day of the 11th [lunar] month, [called] |rwaay s"nāa] [in the] Dai [tradition, corresponding to] the 5th day [of the] Mon [tradition]. Written by Old Hnaan Deebin, in support of [Buddha's] Teachings ...

(8) phuuk 4, no no., preceded by p 45

|(...) dūua, 11 qōk, 12 'gaam 'braam 'waa wan 5 daiy koq se, srade,cc, "lāaw" yaam kōq, hnaay" (!) 'kāa" "khaa lāä khqo suumaa dō, "cau" 'dii" "hwai h,ööy |

/(...) dāan sip ?et ?ōok sip sōq khām phām wāa wan hāa taj kot set saladet lēew nāam kōq nāaj kēe khāa lee khōo sūumaa tō? cāw tīi wāj hēej/

Translation.

(CS 1195 - Year of the Snake), in the 11th [lunar] month, on the 12th day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the 5th day [in the Mon tradition, called] |koq se| [in the] Dai [tradition]. Accomplished at the time of the morning drum. To you, respected [reader of this phuuk], I should like to apologize [for the bad handwriting].

(9) phuuk 5, Cover Folio, no no., preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc.
(microfilmed upside-down)

|cuqassaraaja 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai dūua, 11 qōk, 4 'gaam meen [wan] aadiq daiy "lau" s"nāa' paripunna "lāaw" yaam 'dii, [kāa] "khaa

lāä sudinnam vatta me dānam nibbānapaccayo hotu me nicañ dhuvañ dhuvañ |

/cudatsalaacā? pan nēj lōj kāw sip hāa tūa pī kāa sāj dāan sip ?et ?ōok sii khām mej [wan] ?aatīt taj tāw sajāa palīpūnnā? lēew nāam tīaç wan [kēe] khāa lee .../

Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake, in the 11th [lunar] month, on the 4th day of the waxing moon, a [day called |wan|] |aadiq| ("Sunday") [in the] Mon [tradition, and] |tāu sa"nāa| [in the] Dai [tradition]. Accomplished at noon-time ... (For Remarks see 18).

18. CĀMADEVIVĀNSA [4.2] Author: Bodhirampsi
(probably: 15th c.)

Roll 10, 127. Dc no 0314, ms no 722. 5 phuuk, 4 lines. Complete. CS 1204 = AD 1842. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Begins:

namo tass' atthu. namathu ādiccavāmso pavaro jino yo manussajāto dipadānam indo byāmapabhāso abhipamāro mañipajoto jina[m] tam namāmi. gambhiram atthañ punañ (!) sududdasam sā sappabi jīvajasinero hetthāñ nānā(y)ānam [2] munisevitān tam sukhumāñ dhammāñ pavaram namāmi

Ends:

phuuk 5, p 38 = nū v, line 1c
evam dhātupāti[2]hāriyaniddeso ca puna patham vamyañ nimuttā ca Bodhiramsinā nāma mahātherena lañkato pañcadasamo vatto nīthito(!). Cāmadevivāssā nīthitā.

Colophons.

(1) phuuk 1, p 46 = 23 v, line 3b

... phuttakām tasmā so srāde₂s "lääw° yaam lään rääm 14 'gaam° 'braam° 'waa° 'dai wan 6 'kää" "khaa lää [4] nibbānapa[cca]yo hotu me niccam dhuvaam dhuvaat qii-hlii 'kää" "khaa 'dää" dö₂ |

... saladet lëew ñaam leeŋ leeem sip sii khâm phâm wâa dâj wan hok këe khää lee ... dii lîi këe khää dëe tõ?/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the sunset [drum], on the 14th day of the waning moon, corresponding to the 6th day [in the Mon tradition] (...)

(2) phuuk 3, p 50 = *tai* plaay v, line 1c

|*Sihinga*[2]nidānam nitthitam(!) attham paricchedavaṇṇanā nitthitā srāde₃jh "lääw° [yaam] kqoñ₃ (written: kqor₃) ñaay wan buñ₃ 'kää" "khaa lää qok₄ 4 'gaam° 'kää" "khaa lää|

... saladet lëew [ñaaam] kõŋ ñaaj wan püt këe khää lee ?òok sii khâm këe khää lee/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the morning drum, [on a day called] |wan budh| ("Wednesday") [in the Mon tradition], on the 4th day of the waxing moon.

(3) phuuk 4, no no., preceded by p 55, line 1

|culasakraaj "dai 1204 t̄uua plii 'lau"(!) yii srāde₂cc₂ "khau maa nai ñüuar, 11 qok₄ 9 'gaam° 'braam° 'waa° 'dai wan 2 daiy" [?] srāde₂jh "lääw° yaam kqoñ₃ lään 'kää" "khaa lää nibbānapaccayo hotu me niccam dhuvaam dhuvaat [2] 'kää" "khaa qii-hlii dö "khaa khiiar₃ paañ 'müüa, "khaa yuu° pätipad wañ buu "kääw srii pur, rüüa,ñ müüa,ñ 'bää" 'daan" "tai wan "nan lää t̄uua 'pö ñaam sak "hnqoy° 'gqoy° bi,ccarañaa 'ci,ñ dö₅, 'diñ "hwai høy|

/cūnlāsakhàat dâj pan s̄oŋ lój sii t̄ua p̄i t̄aw ñii saladet khâw maa naj ñaam sip ?et ?òok kâw khâm phâm wâa dâj wan s̄oŋ taj [?] saladet lëew ñaam kõŋ leeŋ këe khää lee ... këe khää dii lîi tõ? khää khian pâaj mâa khää jùu patibat wât puu këew sali bun laaj maaaj pêe dâan tâj wan nân lee t̄ua bô ñaam sak ñoñj kôj pîcalanaa cîm tõ? tîi wâj hœøj/

Translation.

CS 1204 - Year of the Tiger, in the 11th [lunar] month, on the 9th day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the 2nd day [in the Mon tradition, called ...??... in the] Dai [tradition]. Accomplished at the time of the sunset drum ... I wrote this phuuk while I was staying at Wad Buu "Kääw Srii Puñ Rüüañ, Müüañ 'Bää, [situated to the] South [of the city of Müüañ 'Bää], on that very day. My writing does not look beautiful at all. Please, respected [reader], use careful consideration!

(4) phuuk 5, p 38 = *nū* v, line 3

|paañlii caamadeewiwiwāñsa "siañ° "hnii° lää phuuk₄ plaay 'gö° 'waa° lää caamadeewii phuuk₄ 5 lää|

/baalii cäämäteewiwiwāñsa? siañ nii lee phuuk pääj kô wâa lee cäämäteewii phuuk hää lee/

Translation.

Here ends the Pāli text of C°; in other words: this is the final phuuk.

Remarks.

The *Cāmādevivāñsa* ("Chronicle of [Naañ] Caamadeewii") written in prose with interspersed verses, relates the history of Haripuñjaya, presently Lamphun, the ancient Mon kingdom founded according to the local tradition by Naañ Caamadeewii (in Northern Thai mostly written |cammadeewii| and pronounced /cämmäteewii/), the legendary Princess of Lavo (presently Lopburi), in the 7th century. The narration ends with the reign of King Ādittarāja (Pāli name: Ādiccarāja), in the middle of the 12th century.

This chronicle was written by Bodhirānsi, at the beginning of the 15th century (cf. Cœdès 1925:13). The author, perhaps a native of either Chiang Mai or Lamphun, states that he used indigenous sources, i.e. accounts written in NT, for his work. The incorrectness of the Pāli in which this text has come down to us, has stunned Pāli scholars like G. Cœdès, who, in 1925, edited Chapters XII to XIV (of altogether 15) in Roman characters, together with a translation into French, by reprinting the text of a bilingual (Pāli-Thai) edition in Siamese script published under the auspices of the National Vajirāñāna Library, Bangkok, in 1920, which was however thoroughly collated with a manuscript kept at the same place; see *ibid.*, p. 14–15; as for the Pāli text, see pp. 141–155, for the Translation, pp. 156–171. According to Cœdès (*ibid.*, p. 14) there is a lacuna in all known manuscripts of the C° comprising the text from the end of the IVth to the beginning of the VIIth pariccheda (chapter), corresponding to one phuuk. In manuscript 18, (and, likewise, in another manuscript of the C°, 17, presented above), this part is occupied by the *Buddhasihirīga-Nidāna*, written by the same author. Since later reprints of the C° in Thailand do not include the Pāli text, a new edition making use also of Lan Na manuscripts like the ones included in the present microfilm collection, would be desirable.

NB: Possibly this manuscript was directly copied from the preceding one, i.e. 17.

19. JĀTAKA: Vessantaradīpanī 2.5.10.[16?] Author: Sirimāngala (AD 1517)

Roll 8, 105". Dc no 0237, ms no 840. 11 phuuk, 5 lines. First bundle; comprising the first 6 [of 13] kaṇḍas. Complete. CS 1198 = AD 1836. Text (not colophons) written in Laotian Dhamma script. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Begins:

anekajati(!) jano yo patto sambodhim uttamaram atikkamesajātake dakkham natvānā nāyakam. nekajāti atikkamma na yo sutonavā adhigato tam pa{m}varam dhammadā natvā lokahita[2]kkaram. nekajāti ...

Ends: phuuk 11, p 51, line 2a

iti culavanapabbe pañcapaññāsa gāthāyo honti 'ti sujanapāmojjathāya katāya Vessantaradipa[3]nīyam culavanapabbaparicchedo sattho |ha, corresponds to Ja VI 532,10

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap.

|paalii, dipanii māhaaweessāntara mad "ton mii sip e,đ phuuk, brā māhaatheerā "cāu" ton "jū" kāñcāna añaññāwasii müüa,ñ 'brāa" [2] peen mullasaddhaa lää sissa dañ muuar, saddhaa baay nōok, mii "cāu" müüa,ñ [3] 'brāa" lää "cāu" raajawoñ müüa,ñ hluuañ brā paañ peen "glau" lää "saañ nai müüa,ñ hluuañ brā paañ

/baalii tīpanii mahāawēetsāntalā? māt tōn mii sip ?et phūuk phā? mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cāu kāñcāna? ?alanñāwasii muañ phēe [2] pēn munlāsatthaa lē? sitsa? tañ muan satthaa paañ nōok mii cāw muañ [3] phēe lē? cāw lāatcāwoñ muañ lūañ phā bañ pēn kāw lē? satthaa nāk sīn nāk bun tañ muan phōom kān sāañ lee sāañ naj muañ lūañ phā bañ/

Translation.

The] Pāli [text of] *Dīpanī Mahāvessantara* - First Bundle; comprising 11 phuuk. The Venerable Forest-dwelling Mahaatheera named Kañcana from Müüa,ñ 'Brāa as leading monastic supporter, and his followers, the Ruler of Müüa,ñ 'Brāa and the "Cau Raajjawoñ*" of Müüa,ñ Hluuañ Bra Paañ as leading lay supporters, together with all the pious lay-men and lay-women [of both states] joined in the making [of this manuscript]. Made in Müüa,ñ Hluuañ Bra Paañ.

* |raajjawoñ| is an official title for one of the three highest administrative functions under the King or Ruler (|"cau müüa,ñ|) of a Siamese vassal state or principality. According to Laotian and Northern Thai custom, only members of the Royal family (|"cau| or |"daaw|), are eligible for these positions. Cf. JONES 1971: 122. (See Remarks for further details).

(2) phuuk 1, no no., preceded by p 49

|bra mahaatheera "cau° ton 'jüü° kañcana araññawaasii müüa,ñ 'brää°
peen "glau lää sissä dan muuar, saddhaa baay noqk₄ mii raajjawoñ
müüa,ñ hluuañ bra paañ peen "glau° "bröqm, kan "saan lää|

/phä? mahäathelä? cäw tön cäa käncanä? ?alanñawaasii maañ phée pën
kaw lë? sitsa? tañ muan satthaas paaj nook mii lätawoñ maañ lüañ phä
baaj pën kaw phöom kän sääj lee/

Translation.

The Venerable Forest-dwelling Mahaatheera Kañcana from Müüañ 'Brää as initiator (i.e. leading monastic supporter) together with his followers, and the Raajjawoñ of Müüañ Hluuañ Bra Paañ as leading lay supporter, joined in having made [this manuscript].

(3) phuuk 2, no no., preceding p 1

|sakraaj "dai 1198 tuua plii, rwaay san paañii mahaaweessantara lää
phuuk₄ 2 24 paü 48 "hnaa [2] dhämm hluuañ lää pörammapubbit
bra pe,ñ "cau° "laan° "jaan° 'rom° khaaw lää [3] paañii dipanii
mahaaweessantara phuuk₄ 2|

/sakhäat däj pan nüñ lój kaw sip pëet túa püi lwaaj sän baalii
mahäawéetsäntalä? lee phuuk sööj saaw sii baj sii sip pëet nää[2] tham
lüañ lee bølammäbuppit phä? pën cäw län cäaip lom khäaw lee[3] baalii
típanii mahäawéetsäntalä? phuuk sööj/

Translation.

CS 1198 - Year of the Monkey. [The] Päli [text called] *Dipanī Mahāvessantara*, phuuk 2, [comprising] 24 folios, 48 pages.- Royal manuscript - [the making having been sponsored by] His Majesty the Ruler of "Laan "Jaañ 'Rom Khaaw*. Päli [text of] *Dipanī M°*- phuuk 2.

* "Millions of Elephants and the White Parasol" (mostly written Lan Chang, Lan Sang or Lanxang Homkhao resp.) is the traditional

name of the Lao kingdom of Luang Prabang/Vientiane. The mention refers to King Mangthathurat who ruled over Luang Prabang from 1817 to 1836. For further details, see Remarks.

(4) phuuk 11, no no., preceded by p 51 (written in Lao, in very small characters; partly unreadable on the microfilm)

|pa subham as(a)tu bra maha sa(nkyu!?) "dai 1198 tuua plii, rwaay
san düüa,ñ (...) wan (...) yaam (...) luu,k₄ somde,cc pörammapubbit
bra pe,ñ "cau° "laan° "jaan° 'rom° khaaw pörommaseeñthakhattiya suriya bra
raajjawoñsa bra maha uftama oorässaa raajaadhiraañ "cau° mii bra
raajasaddhaa pöromma(.)a saü naü bra raaja[2]höradai "hlüüam° saü
wöra bä buddhåsa[a]ssnaa 'hääñ' bra mahaakrunñaadhigur, "cau° an 'yi,ñ
'ci,ñ' "dai" nimantana bra wöraji,nnaputtaa sañghasamaggaa "haü°
"bögöm° kap kan "läaw° 'ci,ñ' "dai (...) "haü° (...) rikkhittaasaa "saan
yañ bra saddhammaa gambhirutamaa nänthaadigur, "cau° duuañ
yuuad,[3] 'yi,ñ' kööt thaawara joqtanaa "wai" pe,ñ mullasaassnaa süüp
süüp pai baay "hnaa° lää (jüün) dänavatthu daan duuañ "nii" bra on
jaam,þö "düuay° puttasaneehaa khö[þ] üddhisä naa pur, pai thöön
yan wöraaraajaputti mii bra naamapäññatti 'jüü°-'waa° naan gaam tän
suwanñaraajakalyaa (...) [4] (...) cutti pai 'suu' pöralook baay "hnaa°
khö[þ] teeja puñaa(..)sandara (...) 'yüüa,ñ° "nii" con "haü° pe,ñ yaan
"käaw° yaa[n] gaam naam pai röqd, "khau° bai(!) cöqd, (...) con "haü°
pe,ñ watthaas bälanaa aahaan dibb an bi,seed" con "haü° pai thöön
'kää° bra kasattii on "nan con "haü° "dai" "bon" caak, heed"
gaam "yaan° con "haü° pe,ñ srä[5]baan gaam 'son° "khün° thöön 'hääñ°
"höqñ° 'taü (...) dää "dau° wan präkaan 1 khöq teeja bra raaja(k)ögson
(written: "som) phallä naa pur, gunñ wi,seed" an "nii" (...) [5b] an "nii"
khö[þ] con "haü (...) naam on bra pe,ñ "cau, "haü° "dai" "hwai" 'yaan°
"naam° "kwaan° güü-'waa° ooghaosaañ khö[þ] "haü° "dai swööy yan
sämpatti suk₄ 3 'sii" güü-'waa° "höqñ "jan° "faa° (yin°) pe,ñ bra int suk₄
dai manussälookaa|

NB: This colophon is given only in transliteration and translation.

Translation.

In CS 1198 - Year of the Monkey (|piи rwaay san|), in the (...) month, on the (...) day (...), at the time of (...), His Royal Highness the Most Exalted Son of His Majesty the King of "Laan Jaan 'Rom Khaaw, his heart filled with faith in the Excellent Buddhasāsana, invited a chapter of Noble Elders to participate in the making of this excellent holy Dhamma manuscript, laying thereby an enduring foundation for the Noble Teachings of the Buddha. As for the merit to be obtained for this pious gift, His Royal Highness, his heart imbued with parental love, should like to dedicate it especially to his excellent Princess-daughter, named Naañ Gaam Tan Suwannaraajakalyaa who ... has passed away to the other world lying ahead. May the power of the merit [obtained by this pious deed] serve as a golden vehicle taking her up to [Nibbāna] ... May [the merit aquired] also provide her with celestial clothes, jewels and special food. May the Princess be free from causes of fear. May [the merit acquired] become a golden bridge leading her up to [the heavenly worlds] ... Finally, may the fruit of this Royal pious deed ... help Her Highness swim safely across the broad ocean of Saṃsāra. May she enjoy the Three Kinds of Happiness: the heavens being [the abode of?] Indra (are better?) than any of the Worlds of Man (?).*

* The last part of the sentence is difficult to read on the microfilm; the text, as transliterated above, does not conform with regular grammatical structure. The exact meaning remains therefore doubtful.

Remarks.

This work, written by Sirimāngala of Chiang Mai in 1517 (see CŒDÈS 1915:41), has not yet been edited.

As for the making of this manuscript, two supporters from the ruling Royalty of Luang Prabang appear to have joined in the meritorious action. The first is called |"Cau Raajjawoñ| in colophon (1), and |Raajjawoñ| in colophon (2). In (4), although part of the text is difficult to read, reference is doubtless made to a son of the King of Luang Prabang as being the leader of the huge manuscript copying campaign on the side of the host country. Since it is known from the inscription of Wad Wijuur

mentioned above (see Part A, footnote 41) that the better part of the manuscripts copied for Gruu Paa Kañcana in Luang Prabang in AD 1836 (177 out of a total of 242 bundles) were made through financial support from the "Cau Raajjawoñ, it seems safe to assume that the >Most Exalted Son of His Majesty the King of "Laan "Jaan 'Rom Khaaw< mentioned in (4) and the ("Cau) Raajjawoñ mentioned in (1) and (2) as well as in the inscription of Wad Wijuur are in fact one and the same person. Since the wording of colophon (3) obviously refers to the King of Luang Prabang as (another) supporter, it has to be concluded that on the Laotian side both the King and his son, the "Cau Raajjawoñ of Luang Prabang, sponsored the making of this manuscript. The same holds true for another manuscript presented here, no. 22. What remains to be explained is how the neatly separated contributions recorded in the Wad Wijuur Inscription (34 bundles sponsored by the King against 177 bundles sponsored by the "Cau Raajjawoñ) can fit with the fact of joint sponsoring of certain manuscripts. -

No further evidence of the "Cau Raajjawoñ and the princess-daughter named Kham Tan (|Gaam Tan|) could be found in the available Laotian chronicles and other historical sources.

20. LOKADĪPA 2.9.17 Author: Nava-Medhamkara

Roll 8, 043. Dc no 0233, ms no 357. 12 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 943 = AD 1581. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

NB: the manuscript is microfilmed in the following order: phuuk 10, 4, 3, 5, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 1, 11, 12.

Begins:

namo tassa bhaga[va]to arahato sammāsambuddhassa settham
setthadadañ buddham loke lokagganāyakam lokabandhum mahāvirañ
lokanātham namāmy āham lokanāthena tenā 'pi lokākācariyena yo pūjito
tañ ca saddhammam vande gambhiram uttamam ...

Ends: phuuk 12, p 55, line 5b - p 56, line 1

... tena sihadipe (!) araññavāsinañ pasaññhamahātherāññam
vaññsālāññkārabhūtena medhamka[1]ra mahātherakhyappati tena
sa[ññ]gharaññ[ñ]ā kato yanñ loka{m}ppadipakasāro 'ti rattanā nāmena
lokadipakaro sāro ca.

(For the following colophon in Northern Thai, see colophon [4], below).

Colophons.

(1) phuuk 1 (*not* 10), no no., preceded by p 46 = *khañ* v

|pii, "ruuañ" "sai" düüa,ñ ciiñ qok₄ 5 'gaam' wan 5 cuññsakraaj "dai" 943
tuua 'daan' naay puñ, wññhñna jaayaa naañ "käaw" miaa₄ gaa(m) "läaw"
"saan" "wai" peen muulasaasnaa brä "cau" 'tqo₃ "dau₁₀ 5 ban wñssaa gaam
(written: gaam) prathnaa "cun" somriddhii[2] ka kha phuuk, 'nün'/*

/pii lúaj sáj dñan cñaj ?òok hää khäm wan hää cünlásakhàat dñj kaw
lóoj sìi sip sáam túa tāan naaj bun wññthanñ? caañaa naaj këew mia
kham léew sñaaj wáj pén muulásásanaa phä cäw tòo taw hää pan wñtsää kam
phäathanaa cùj sõmlíthii ka? kha? phuuk nñj/

* The vowel is written as |i|, the velar final as a subscripted |ñ| plus a Niggahita placed besides the superscripted |i|.

NB: Throughout the colophons of this manuscript only one graph, viz. |i| is used to represent the vowels /i/, /u/, /eu/, and mostly also /ii/ (transliterated as |ii₄|). Since the homography between the vowels /i/ and /u/ (and their long variants, respectively) only occurs in rare cases, it is not provided for in the allograph inventory to be found in HUNDIUS 1990.

Translation.

Year of the Snake - In the first [lunar] month, on the 5th day of the waxing moon, CS 943, donated by Naay Puñ Wññhñna and Naañ "Käaw, his beloved (lit.: golden") wife. The manuscript was made as a foundation for the Teachings of Buddha so that they will last for 5,000 years. May these wishes be fulfilled!

(2) phuuk 2 (*not* 5), no no., preceded by p 48 = *ghañ* v

|pii "ruuañ" "sai" düüa,ñ ciiñ qok₄ 5 gaam wan 5 cuññsakraaj "dai" 943
tuua 'daan' naay puñ, wññhñna jaayaa naañ "käaw" miaa₄ gaam (written:
gaam) "läaw" "kau" (!) "saan" "wai" peen muulasaasnaa (written: "ñasnaa)
brä "cau" 'tqo₃ "dau₁₀ 5 ban wñssaa gaam praathnaa "cun" somriddhii₄
duk₄ an/

/pii lúaj sáj dñan cñaj ?òok hää khäm wan hää cünlásakhàat dñj kaw
lóoj sìi sip sáam túa tāan naaj bun wññthanñ? caañaa naaj këew mia
kham léew kaw (= kòo?) sñaaj wáj pén muulásásanaa phä cäw tòo taw
hää pan wñtsää kam phäathanaa cùj sõmlíthii tük ?an/

(For **translation**, see [1]).

(3) phuuk 12, no no., preceded by p 5

|pii₄ "ruuañ" "sai" sñkraaj "dai" [9]44 tuua hnañ,ñsüü (written: "si)
'daan' puñ, wññhñna jaayaa 'jüü'-'waa' (written: ji-waa) "käaw" miaa₄
(written, only this time, as what could be interpreted as 'mää') gaam
"läaw" "saan" "wai" kap [wññ] srii 'un₃ müüa,ñ 'daa" "sñqy" peen präcäi
"gaam" (written: gaam) 'tqo₃ "dau₁₀ 5 ban wñssaa/

/pii lúaj sáj sakhàat dñj [kaw lóoj] sìi sip sìi túa nñpsüü tāan bun
wññthanñ? caañaa cêu wññhñna jaayaa naañ "käaw" miaa kham léew sñaaj wáj kap [wññ]
salii ?ùn mñaj tāa sñoj pén phatcäj kám tòo taw hää pan wñtsää/

Translation.

CS 944 - Year of the Snake. This book was made at the behest of Naay
Puñ Wññhñna - Made for [Wññ] Srii 'Un Müüa,ñ, 'Daa "Sñqy, as a
contribution to give support [to Buddha's Teachings] so that they may
last for 5,000 years.

(4) phuuk 12, p 56, line 1c

|a[n] "nii° 'daan° sāddhaa 'jüü° 'waa°[2] puñ, wāḍhaṇa jaayaa 'jüü° 'waa° kāmmāraanān, "cau° 'hmüün, liiap 'jüü° 'waa° {'jüü°-'waa°} sāän gaam daa "saan° "wai° peen muulasaasnaa (written °lāsnaa) bra buddha "cau°[3] "hüü° ḍap duk, dañ muuan, siia, 'pq° seed sāla düün lää|

/?an nñi tān satthaā cāu wāa bun wātthānñ? caañaa cāu wāa kāmmalaanan cāw māñun liap cāu wāa {cāu wāa} sēn kham taa sāñ wāj pēn muulāsāasanaa phā? pūtthā cāw hāñ dap tūk taj muan sā bō sēt sala? tāñun lee/

Translation.

This manuscript was made at the behest of the lay supporter Puñ Waḍhana and his spouse, named Kammalaanan, as well as "Cau 'Hmüün Liiap, named Sāän {Gaam} Daa, in order to build a foundation for the Teachings of Lord Buddha so that all suffering be extinguished completely.

Remarks.

The text of colophons (1) and (2) is repeated at the end of every other phuuk except the last (phuuk 12). This leads to the assumption that these colophons were written on the same day. As for the date given in (3), this is marked by a double inconsistency: not only is the number 9 omitted, but the last number is also changed from 3 to 4, which would not fit in with the Cyclical Year |"ruuañ "sai|. For a description of another very old manuscript of the L° in Northern Thai script, see v. HINÜBER 1987:25-27. The Pāli text of the L° which is also known as *Lokadipakasāra* or *Lokappadipakasārapakarana*, has been transcribed from Khmer manuscripts in a number of (unpublished) M.A. theses written by students of the Chulalongkorn University between 1979-1983. Separately, in 1986, an edition of the whole Pāli text based on 12 manuscripts written in Khmer and one written in Mon script, the oldest of which dates from AD 1771, has been published together with a translation into Central Thai by the National Library, Bangkok (Fine Arts Department). For more details, see v. HINÜBER (op. cit.).

21. LOKADĪPA 2.5.17 Author: Nava-Medhāpīkara

Roll 8, 061". Dc no 0234, ms no 720. 10 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1198 = AD 1836. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae. Written in Laotian Dhamma script. Colophons in Northern Thai.

Begins:

namo tassa bhagavato arhato sammāsambuddhassa settham setthandadañ buddhañ loke lokattanāyakam lokabandhañ mahāviram lokanāthañ namāmy aham. lokanāthena tenāpi lokekācariyena [2] yo pūjito tatthā (!) saddhammam vande gambhiram uttamam ...

Ends: phuuk 10, p 53 = pi r, line 4

[a]ntarāyam vināsāro yathā niñtha upāgato tathā niñtha susamkappā sattānam dhammanissitā sabba[5]ñ[ñ]utaññasa(!)paccayo hotu sivavatthum lokappadipakasāram pakarañam mahāsañgharājena lida[54.1]yarājassa taruñā (read: karuñā) vi[ra]citañ samattam nibbānam paramam su{k}kham lokadipaka paripuññā nitthitā(!).

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

|paalii lookadiipa mii sip phuuk, bra māhaatheera "cau° ton 'jüü° kañcaña araññawaasii müüañ, 'brāä° peen mullasaddhaa lää sissa dañ[2] muuar, sāddhaa baay nqok, mii "cau° müüañ, 'brāä° lää "cau° raajjawoñmüüañ, hluuañ bra paañ peen "glau°[3] lää sāddhaa nak sil nak puñ, dañ muuar, "brōqm, kan "saan lää "saan nai müüañ, hluuañ bra paañ|

/lookadiipa? mii sip phuuk .../

Translation.

Lokadīpa - comprising 10 phuuk ...

(the text which follows is identical with 19 [1]).

(2) phuuk 1, Title Folio

|paa- lii looka_{dii}₄pa (= °dipa) phuuk₄ "ton sakraaj "dai 1198 tūua plii rwaay san paa- lii looka_{dii}₄pa (= °dipa) phuuk₄ "ton|

/baalii lookatīpa? phūuk tōn sakhaat dāj pan nāj lōj kāw sip pēet tūa pīi lwaaj sān baalii lookatīpa? phūuk tōn/

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of] *Lokadipa* - First phuuk. CS 1198 - Year of the Monkey.

(3) phuuk 1, no no., preceded by p 46

|saddhaa baay nai mii brā māhaatheera "cau ton 'jū' kāñcañā añaññāwaasi müüa,ñ 'brää' peen "glau lāä sissā "cau" dañ muuar, saddhaa baay noq₄ mii raajjawoñ müüa,ñ hluuañ brā paañ peen "glau "brōq₃ kan "saan'|

/sattha paaj naj mii phā? mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cāu kāñcañā? ?alanñāwaasi müaj phēe pēn kāw lē? sitsa? cāw tañ muan sattha paaj nōk mii lāatcāwoñ müaj lūaj phā baaj pēn kāw phōom kān sāaj/

Translation.

The Venerable Forest-dweller named Mahaatheera Kañcana, Müüañ 'Brää, as the leading monastic supporter, and his followers, together with the Raajjawoñ of Müüañ Hluuañ Bra Paañ as the leading lay supporter, joined in having made [this manuscript].

NB: Virtually identical colophons are inscribed at the end of the other phuuk. (For Remarks, see 20; as for the supporter, see Remarks to 19, supra).

22. LOKASANĀTHĀNA (-JOTARATANAGANĀTHĪ)

ROLL 8, 200". Dc no 0242, ms no 1050. 5 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1198 = AD 1836. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae. Written in Laotian Dhamma script (colophons 1, 2 and 4 in Northern Thai).

Begins: phuuk 1, p 4 = *ka v* (in the middle of the page)

yo tilokantapajoto nātho lokapadipo dhammo lokavañhano ariya[2]sañgho aṭṭha tañ ca lokapakāsakañ gammañ ca loka[3]niyātāñ sañgham lokapāraguñ vanditvā sirasā lo[4]kajotikam bhāsisañ tatrāyam mātikāasamkheyya[5]kathā kappakathā kappavināsō samvaññavivadhañkathā sattasuriyācakkavāñlakathā[1.5.1a] sinerukathā catumahādipakathā himavantakathā candimasuriyagatikathā saggakathā niri[2]yakathāpetavisañ ca tiracchānakathā pakiññakakathā 'ti[3] tattha asamkheyya 'ti na samkheyāna gañetabbo 'ti asam[4]kheyyo. ekadivasena anekavidhā yāvapamā[5]ñā tato tāva asamkheyyo nāma. tato param lakkhañam vā pamāñam vā akatvā ...

Ends: phuuk 5, p 71, line 3a

buddhasāsane] sattānam ruññam dānam yathāsati yathābalam evam bhāve mettā ca patthayanta apattakañ tassa vādigamo payo katabbo[4] viññunā sadā. (!?) iti Jotaratanasatthavaññanā niññhitā.

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

|paa- lii lookañthaana joottarataganāthī mii 5 phuuk₄ brā māhaatheera "cau" ton 'jū' kāñcañā[2] añaññāwaasi müüa,ñ 'brää' peen muulāñsatthaa lē? sitsa? tañ muan cāw müaj lūaj phā baaj pēn sattha paaj nōk sāaj naj müaj lūaj phā baaj|

/baalii looka?sāñthaanā? coota?lāttanā?kanthī mii hāa phūuk phā? mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cāu kāñcañā? ?alanñāwaasi müaj phēe pēn muulāñsatthaa lē? sitsa? tañ muan cāw müaj lūaj phā baaj pēn sattha paaj nōk sāaj naj müaj lūaj phā baaj/

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of] *Lokasañthāna Joṭaratanaganṭhī* consisting of five phuuk. The Venerable Forest-dweller Mahaatheera Kañcana, Müüan 'Bräā, was the leading [monastic] supporter together with his followers. The Ruler of Müüan Hluuañ Bra Paañ was the lay supporter. - Made in Müüan Hluuañ Bra Paañ.

(2) Front Cover Folio, recto side

|paañii l° j° phuuk₄ "ton[2] cuñasākraaj "dai 1198 tuua plii, rwaay san
lää|[3] (s. line 1)

/baalii ... phuuk tōn cūnlāsakhāat dāj pan nāñ lój kāw sip pēet tūa pii
lwaaj sāñ lee/

Translation.

(First line: s. above). CS 1198 - Year of the Monkey.

(3) phuuk 1, p 1.

(identical* with 19, colophon (4), supra)

* Sole difference: instead of the enigmatic |*sañkyu| here the word buddhāsākkrāaja| is used.

(4) phuuk 1, Back Cover Folio, no no., preceded by p 50

|bra māhaatheera "cāu° ton 'jüü° kañcana añaññawaasii 'yuu müüañ
'brää° peen "glau lää sissa dañ muuar, sāddhaa baay nōok₄ mii raajjāwoñ
müüañ hluuañ bra paañ peen "glau° "brōqm₃ kan "saan|

/phā? mahāathēlā? cāw tōn cāu kāñcana? ?alanññawaasii jūu māaj phē
pēn kāw lē? sitsa? tañ muan satthaā paaj nōok mii lāatcāwoj māaj lāuñ
phā baaj pēn kāw phōqm kān sāaj/

Translation.

The Venerable Forest-dweller Mahaatheera Kañcana, living in Müüan 'Bräā, as initiator, together with his followers, the Raajjāwoñ of Müüan Hluuañ Bra Paañ being the leading lay supporter, joined in the making [of this manuscript].

NB: On the front cover folios of phuuk 2–5 colophons are engraved which are identical with (2). In another colophon written in Laotian language and (Dhamma) script, identical with the one transcribed and translated above (19 [4]), this time an exact date is given: |bra buddhāsākkrāaja 1198 tuua pii rwaay san düüañ 10 6 (hok)
'gaam wan (6?) "müü° möön "gaü° yaam kqon₄ nāay ...|

Translation.

B.E. [i.e. CS] 1198 - Year of the Monkey, in the 10th [lunar] month, on the 6th day [in the Mon tradition], called |möön "gaü| (?) [in the Dai tradition], at the time of the morning drum ...

Remarks.

In the introduction, this work is called *Lokajotakam*. According to the Pāli colophon (see above), this manuscript not only comprises the main text, but also a commentary thereon. This work (as well as its commentary) was previously unknown and has yet to be edited.

For details on the supporters, see Remarks to 19, supra.

23. MANIPADĪPA 3.1.13 Author: Ariyavarma

Roll 8, 122". Dc no 0238, ms no 1052. 5 lines. Middle bundle; i.e 2nd bundle of a set of 3. 16 phuuk. Complete. CS 1195 = AD 1833. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Begins:

keci pana idam pubbavacanena ekasambandham katvā. neva nāpajjati 'ti
iti evam (a)ttha ca saddonam yam anattho hoti 'ti yojanam karoti. sā na
yuttā iti saddassa vamettha yojanā kātabbati [2] iminā sampajjato. ayañ

(ca a)thayojanākāranidassanattho 'ti. yadi pana kassa iti saddassa lopesati purimo. iti saddo yojanākāranidassanattho [3] ...

Ends: phuuk 16, p 50 = *varṇ* v, line 1a - 3b

idam vuttam hoti sotāpattimagge sotāpattimaggatthass' ev' ass' eva sekkhassa dhārako nāñassa sotāpattithalatthassa sekkha[2]ssa sotāpattithalāp sotāpattatthalatthass' eva sekkhassa sādhāraṇanāñesam sakadāg{g}amītalattham anāgāmittha[3]latthānam sekkhānam paggeva arahattatthalatthassa asekhassa.

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

|tuua paañii māñii, padip (*Manipadipa*) mii, sip hok phuuk₄ lää gruu paa "cau° kāñcana araññā[2]waasii müüa,ñ 'bräa peen "glau° sāddhaa lää sissa "cau° dañ muuar, sāddhaa baay nōqk₄ mii māhaaraaj "cau° müüa,ñ 'brää lää māhaaraaj "cau° müüa,ñ 'naan° peen[3] "glau° lää pajaanaaraatthā dañ muuar, "brōqm, kan "saan° yañ akkhārañdhāmm kāmbii, an 'nii° "waiy jootākā buddhāsaasnaa 5 ban wāssaa lää "saan° nai müüa,ñ 'naan° lää|

/tūa baalii maniipatip mii sip hok phūuk lee .../

(the following text is literally identical with the corresponding text in 15, colophon [1], supra)

Translation.

Pāli text of *Manipadipa* - consisting of 16 phuuk ...

(For the translation of the following text, see 15 [1], supra).

(2) phuuk 1, Front Cover Folio, preceding p 1

|{b}bhikkhu ri[khi]t[a] attanoo 'dōqñ° dhaan (...) taam cāpap 'klaa lää mad klaan phuuk₄ "ton lää uppānaamoo rikkhiṭa "gaam juu 'bqq° qqk₄ māhaaraas [lää] hluuañ lää|

/phikkhu? līkhita? ?attanoo tōg thaan (...) tāam cabap kāw lee māt kāaŋ phūuk tōn lee ?uppanaamoo līkkhita? kām cuu pōc ?ōk mahāalāat lūaŋ lee/

Translation.

Written by (...) Bhikkhu himself. Thoroughly checked with the original. Middle bundle, 1st phuuk. Written by Uppanaamoo [-Bhikkhu?] in support of his Great Royal 'Bqq Qqk* [, the Ruler of Müüan 'Naan].

* |'bqq qqk| "Foster-Father; Benefactor"; in Northern Thai tradition needy monks or novices are materially supported by voluntary sponsors or "foster-fathers" (or "-mothers", resp.) who take over burdens which normally would be borne by one's parents or relatives.

(3) "mai hlaap, reverse side

|"saan° müüa, sākraaj "dai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai° lää| /sāan māa sakhāat dāj pan nāñ lōoj kāw sip hāa tūa pī kāa sāj lee/

Translation.

Made in CS 1195 - Year of the Snake.

(4) phuuk 1, Front Cover Folio, reverse side, preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc

|pāthāmāmuu, lāsāddhaa naamāpāññātti 'juu° -'waa° māhaa kāñcana theera araññāwaasii aaraam 'suuñ "hmeer" müüa,ñ 'bräa 'daan "tai "saan "waiy "gaam juu buddhāsaasnaa traap 'tq° "dau° 5 ban brā wāssaa lää [2] culāsākraaj "dai 1195 tuua plii, 'klaa "sai māhaaraaj hluuañ müüa,ñ 'naan "saan° "gaam juu māhaa kāñcana theera|

/pathamā? muulāsatthaa naamā?pāññātti? cāu wāa mahāa kāñcanā? thēelā? ?alanñāwaasii ?aalaam sūuñ mēn māa phēe dāan tāj sāaŋ wāj kām cuu pūtthā?sāasanaa thalāp tōw tāw hāa pan phā? wātsāa lee cūnlāsakhāat dāj pan nāñ lōoj kāw sip hāa tūa pī kāa sāj mahāalāat lūaŋ māa nāan sāaŋ kām cuu mahāa kāñcanā? thēelā?/

Translation.

Being the initial monastic supporter, the Venerable Forest-dweller named Mahaa Kañcana Theera of 'Suuñ "Hmeer Monastery, which is situated to the south [of Müüañ 'Brää], had [this manuscript] made wishing thereby to ensure that Lord Buddha's Teachings will last for 5,000 years.- CS 1195 - Year of the Snake. Donated by the Great Royal Ruler of Müüañ 'Naan in support of Mahaa Kañcana Theera.

(5) phuuk 5, Front Cover Folio

[1] s. colophon (1), supra

||[2] sañkraas 1195 ̄uua plii 'klaa "saiy lää arahantāmaggañānam
dinnam nibbānapaccayo hotu [3] me nicām dhuvañ dhuvañ 'dqoñ, dhaan
"lääw° taam capap 'klaa°|

... sāñkhāat pan nāñ lōoj kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kāa sāj lee ... tōj thaan
lēew tāam cabap kāw/

Translation.

[C] S 1195 - Year of the Snake ... Thoroughly checked with the original.

(6) phuuk 5, p 38

|bhikkhu jeeyyanaam khiiar, paañ 'mūüa, 'yuu° meettaa wañ "paar°
dūün, y (!) müüañ, jlääñ, "bol lää "yqor, ̄uua 'pq° 'naay° sak yaañ" lää[2]
"dai khiiar, "dää dhamm 4 phuuk, 'pq° daay 'gqy° biccaranaa qūu dō
saadhu "cau° ton "dai riiar, "dai 'aan" 'gq°-dii biccaranaa "hüü° 'thii°
"yqor, 'pq° smöö, kan hnai lää|

/phikkhu? cajñānaam khian pāñ māa jiu mēettāa wāt bāan tāen māa
caleej pón lee nōon tūa bō yāaj sak jāat lee[2] dāj khian tēe tham sii
phuuk bō daaj kōj pīcalanaa duu tē? sāathū? cāw tōn dāj lian dāj ?āan
kō dii pīcalanaa hāa thi nōon bō samēø kān nāj lee/

Translation.

Written by Bhikkhu Jeeyyanaam while he stayed spreading Loving-Kindness at Wañ "Paan Düün, in a village that is part of remote Müüañ Jlääñ, far away. Because it was not an easy task at all to read the script [of the original], I only wrote four of the phuuk. Therefore, [respected reader], do read with careful consideration. Whoever among you, dear Monk-Brothers, uses this manuscript for his studies or as his reading, please do use thorough consideration, because the handwriting has turned out extremely uneven.

(7) phuuk 6, no no., preceded by p 37

|paripuñña "lääw° yaam kqoñ, naay 'kää "khaa lää sakkabd{d}a "dai
1195 ̄uua plii 'klaa "saiy dūüa, n sip 2 qoñ, 3 gaamp 'braam 'waa "dai
wan 2 daiy "ruuañ, "pau" lää [2] iminā dhammarikkhittadānena yathā
yathā bhave jāto m[ā] rogā mā dalado bhavāmi 'hañ saisāre saisāran
ta metteyyasanti[38.1]ke anāgate nic[c]aam dhuvañ ha|

/palipunnā? lēew nāam kōj yaaaj kēe khāa lee sakkaptā? dāj pan nāñ lōoj
kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kāa sāj dāan sip sōj ?ōk sāam khām phām wāa
dāj wan sōj taj lūañ pāw lee[2] ?i?mī?naa .../

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the morning drum. CS 1195 - Year of the Snake, in the 12th [lunar] month, on the 3rd day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the 2nd day [of the Mon tradition called] |"ruuañ "pau| [in the] Dai [tradition]. (Followed by a lengthy wish written in Pāli, at the beginning of which the hope is expressed that the scribe may, in his future lives, not be reborn as a man struck with sickness and poverty [daliddo is miswritten as dalado] while at the end, the common wish is uttered to be reborn during the life time of the future Buddha Metteyya [Skt: Maitreya]).

(8) phuuk 7, p 47, line 3-4

|culassakabadd "dai 1195 ̄uua plii maseen snaam (written: smaam)

kamboojha khqom, bhisaiy daiy b[h]aasaa 'waa plii 'klaa "saiy "khau maa nai wāsaang 舅舅 "khau maa nai sraawāññ gūññ-'waa" dùüa,n[4] 11 huulwaa qök, 13 'gaam meeñ [wan] 1 daiy "ruuañ, "saiy yaam kqoñ, ñaay lää "gqoñ" biđcaranaa "hüü" 'thii" dö 'pq" "ruu" cak, tuua "ton 'thii"

/cūnlāsakkapāt dāj pan nāñ lóoj kāw sip hāa tūa pīi māsēj sanām kāmpooçā? khōom phīsāj taj phaasāa wāa pīi kāa sāj khāw maa naj wātsāanā? ?utu? khāw maa naj salaawan kāa wāa duān sip ?et hūulwaa ?òok sip sāam khām meñ [wan] nāñ taj lūaj sāj ñaam kōñ ñaaj lēe kōj pītcalanaa hēu thii tō? bō lūu cak tūa tōn thii/

Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake, in the Khmer tradition called |pii maseen|, in the Dai tradition called |pii 'kaa "sai|, at the beginning of the Rainy Season, at the beginning of [the month called] |sraawaññ| [in the Khmer tradition], i.e. the 11th lunar month [according to the Dai tradition], on the 13th day of the waxing moon, [corresponding to] the 1st [day of the] Mon [tradition, called] |"ruuañ "sai| [in the] Dai [tradition], at the time of the morning drum [accomplished]! Use thorough consideration: I have not been very familiar with [the style of] the script in the original!

(9) phuuk 8, p 44

|culassakkabadd 1195 tuua plii, māseen snaam (written: smaam) kañboojjhā khqom, bhisai daiy b[h]aasaa 'waa" 'klaa "sai sraawāññ daiy rau 'waa" dùüa,n (11) huulwaa qök, (...) [2] 'gaam meeñ wan 5 daiy rwaay "cai yaam kqoñ, lään lää likkhitta paañ 'mūüa, 'yuu meeñtaa müüa,ñ jääñ nai cakkhawaar müüa,ñ nāndapuri, srii, müüa,ñ 'naan" "buur' lää ... (Pāli)|

/cūnlāsakkapāt pan nāñ lóoj kāw sip hāa tūa pīi māsēj sanām kāmpooçā? khōom phīsāj taj phaasāa wāa kāa sāj salaawan taj law wāa duān sip ?et(?) hūulwaa ?òok [...] khām meñ wan hāa taj lwaaj cāj ñaam kōñ lēeñ lēe likkhitta? pāñ māa jūu mēettāa māañ cēeñ naj cakkhawaan māañ nantāpulii salii māañ nāan pūun lēe/

Translation.

[As for the first part, see (8)] ... called 11th (?) lunar month [according to] our Dai [tradition], on the (...) day of the waxing moon, [corresponding to] the 5th day [of the] Mon [tradition, called] |rwaay "cai| [in the] Dai [tradition], at the time of the sunset drum. Written while I was staying, spreading Loving-Kindness at Müüañ Jääñ, far away in the prosperous realm of Nandapurii* Müüañ 'Naan.

* Nandapurii (P): "City of Joy".

(10) phuuk 11, no no., preceded by p 47

|sañkraas 1195 plii 'klaa "saiy meeñ wan 6 daiy" pöök (written: pöök) sii dùüa,n rääm 13 'gaam" paaññ māñii,ñpadip (Mañipadīpa) phuuk 12 'döqñ, dhaan "lääw" ñaam cāpap 'klau|

/sāpjhāat pan nāñ lóoj kāw sip hāa pīi kāa sāj meñ wan hok taj pèok sī duān leem sip sāam khām baalii maniipatip phuuk sip sōñ tōñ thaan lēew tāam cabap kāw/

Translation.

[C] S 1195 - Year of the Snake, on the 6th day [of the] Mon [tradition, called] |pöök sii| [in the] Dai [tradition], in the (...) month, on the 13th day of the waning moon. Thoroughly checked with the original.

Remarks.

Colophons virtually identical with the ones transcribed and translated above are found in several other phuuk. In the second part of colophon (9) which is not included here, viz. on p 44, line 5b, the scribe reveals his name as |sii,ñwijey bhikkhu| /sīwīcāj phīkkhu?/ (Pāli Name: Sivijaya-Bh^o). To my knowledge, this work has not yet been edited.

24. BUDDHASIHIṄGA-NIDĀNA [4.2.] Author:

Bodhirāmsi (15th c.)

Roll 9, 094". Dc no 0262, ms no 801. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete (?). CS 1199 = AD 1837. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Begins: p 1 = *ghī* r, line 1a-2b

namo tass' atthu. namassitvāna sambuddham p̄ dhammam sañghañ ca uttamam ariyavaso nāmāham suvanñasuvibuddhassa vatthunidānam ravissam yathā balam samāsato tam sunātha sā[2]dhukan 'ti. amhāka[m] pana bhagavato parinibbānato sattasatasāsanasañkarājakāle ...

Ends: p 30 = *jhū* v, line 3b-4

iti sisatanāganahuttamahānagare paṭiṭhitassa agatassa su[4]vanñna suvibuddharupassa tatiyavatthu nidāna[m] ssamattam. (!) [in Northern Thai:] ᳚ua paañii *Nidānam* *Buddhassa* lää haa

Colophons.

(1) Cover Folio, preceding p 1, 3, 5 etc.

|᳚ua paañii nidaanā buddhassā phuuk₄ ḍiiaw₃ haa[2] cuñasakraaj "dai 1199 ᳚ua plii möön "rau ḍüüar₃ ciiāñ₃ rääm 'gaam 1 meeñ wan aadiñ daiy "ruuañ₃ "hmau yaam kqoñ₃ rääñ paripunñā lää "läaw^o haa |[3] (s. line 1)

/tū baalii nītaanā? pūtthātsa? phūuk diaw cūnlāsakhāat dāj pan nāñ lōj kāw sip kāw tūa pīi mēøg lāw d̄uan cīaø leem khām nāñ meg wan ?aatīt taj lúaq māw ñaam kōøg leøø palipūnnā? lee leøø hāa/

Translation.

The Pāli text of *Nidāna Buddhassa* - One phuuk. CS 1199 - Year of the Cock, in the 1st [lunar] month, one the 1st day of the waning moon, on a |wan aadiñ| ("Sunday") [according to the] Mon [tradition, called] |"ruuañ "hmau| [in the] Dai [tradition,] at the time of the sunset drum:

accomplished!

(2) Cover Folio, reverse side, preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc

|bra mahaatheera "cau ṭon 'jūñ kañcana araññawaasii 'suuñ, "hmeer, peen "glau lää sissä "cau dañ muuar, "brōqm, kan "saañ nai müüañ, 'brää lää aḍḍhārassabhiikkhu khiiar₃[2] plaañ 'mūüa sañthitt 'saamraan wat hluuañ srii jum, wan "nan lää arahattamaggaññāñ nibbānam paramāñ sukkham |

/phā? mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cāu kāñcanā? ?alanñawaasii sūuñ mēñ pēñ kāw lē? sitsa? cāw taj muan phōom kān sāaø naj muan phē lee ?atthālātsa?phikkhu? khian pāaø māa satthit sāmlaan wāt lūaø salī cum wan nāñ lee ?alāhatta?mākkāñaañ nīppaanāø palāmañ sukkhāñ/

Translation.

The Venerable Forest-dweller Mahaatheera Kañcana, 'Suuñ "Hmeer, as leading [monastic] supporter, and his followers, joined in the making of [this manuscript] in Müüañ 'Brää. Written by Aḍḍha-Rassabhiikkhu, while staying happily in Wañ Hluuañ Srii Jum, on that very day ...

Remarks.

Judging from the Pāli colophon (cf. the end of the text), this manuscript does not seem to be complete. The "Legend of the Buddha Image called |Bra Buddhasihiñ|" is another work by the Monk Bodhirāmsi, the author of the *Cāmadevivāisa* (cf. supra, 17, 18), and was probably written about the same time, i.e. at the beginning of the 15th c. (Cf. CÖEDÈS 1925:13). A copy of the S° is included in the list of manuscripts which were sent from Siam to Ceylon in the 18th c. (Cf. v. HINÜBER 1988c:176). There are another two copies of this text included in the present microfilm collection of manuscripts from Northern Thailand: see Remarks to 17, 18. This text has not yet been edited.

25. VAṄSAMĀLINĪ

Roll 8, 209". Dc no 0243, ms no 1051. 10 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1198 = AD 1836. Text written in Laotian Dhamma Script (colophons in NT). Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Begins:

vase pi tajje pi avadinātho nātvā hi te te pavisesato yo desesi moghavatarāya tesam vandāmi nātham tam anantañānam dhammañ ca saṅgham sirasā 'bhivande varṣe 'pi nātē n[ā]ta[2]re ca nātā (read: nātāro ca nātā ?) tasmā hi varṣāvāriyānuñātam (read: varṣācariy°) saṅkhepam vakkhāmi ... [4] ... imamhi kappe paṭhamo 'va rājā mahādināmo ahu tassa varṣāparamparā-māga tato asinnā tato sisabye vararājavamso ...

Ends: phuuk 10, p 24 = *dhaṭ* v, line 3a-5c

so hi tava pañcakam va kammaṭṭhānam va bhavyam tilakkhaṇupatthapetvā buddhassa sāmane tathā pasādenācalen' eva sampanno yeva ce siyā laddhupasampado hutvā. [4] Buddhaghoso catusu pi paṭisambhidāsv' apaṭihatañāno va ce siyā gotamabuddhasāvako Buddhaghoso tada siyā idam pi vacanam yeva vicāretvāna kavinā sakarucikhantiyā va gahetabbam [5] yathiritañ (?!). niddāne Buddhaghosassa pāṭhitattham yathārahañ sādhippāyam pi nissāya Buddhaghosa-Niddānakam vilāsakaranañ yeva navaniddān' idam mayā racitam ādaren' eva paripuṇṇam va niṭṭhitanti.

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

|paañlii waṄsamaalinii sip phuuk₄ bra mahaatheera "cau° ton 'jū° kañcaña aṛaññawaasii müüan₃ 'brā° peen mulla[2]saddhaa lää sissa dañ muuar₃ saddhaa baay nqok₃ mii "cau° müüan₃ 'brā° lää "cau raajja[3]woi müüan₃ hluuañ bra paan lää saddhaa nak puñ₂ dañ muuar₃ "brōqm₃ kan "sañ "sañ nai müüañ hluuañ bra paan|

/baalii wajsa?maalīnii sip phūuk .../

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of the] VaṄsamālinī - 10 phuuk ...

NB: The following text is virtually identical with the inscriptions on the "mai hlaap of 19 and 21. For phonematic transcription and translation, see 19 (1).

(2) Front Cover Folio

|cuṄasakraaj "dai 1198 tūua plii rwaay san lää tūua paañlii waṄsamaalinii phuuk₄ "ton lää|

/cūnlāsakhāt dāj pan nēj lōj kāw sip hāa tūa pī lwaaj sān lee tūa baalii wajsa?maalīnii phūuk tōn lee/

Translation.

CS - 1198 Year of the Monkey. The Pāli text of *VaṄsamālinī* - First phuuk.

NB: The same text is engraved on the cover folios of phuuk 2-10; at the end of phuuk 10, the colophon inscribed on the "mai hlaap (see [1], above) is repeated, except that the Royal Ruler of Phrae is not mentioned as supporter.

Remarks.

This text, allegedly composed by Buddhaghosa, was previously unknown; its existence, however, had already been indicated by L. FINOT (1917:151). It still awaits scholarly attention and edition. However, a Nissaya (Pāli-Northern Thai) version of the second, and concluding part of this legendary chronicle called "*Dutiyavansamālinī*" or |Taamnaan Bryaa Cüüan| relating events which are said to have taken place in the Lan Na region during the first half of the 12th century AD, has been published, meanwhile, in Central Thai transliteration, from a manuscript also micro-filmed in this collection: see GANJANAPAN; WICHENKEEO [ed.] 1981.

26. VUTTODAYA (with a commentary) 5.7.1 Author:
Saṅgharakkhita (13th c.)

Roll 16, 021". Dc no 0572, ms no 837a (= phuuk 13 of ms no 837). 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1236 = AD 1874. Wat Chang Kham (NT /wāt cāaŋ kám/). Amphoe Muang, Nan.

Begins:

namo tass' atthu. namatthujanasanānatamamassantānābhedino ...
 (Vutt 1,3*)

Ends: p 32 = 16 v, line 2b-3

dviguṇatā ekenāta ekena akkharenañ unabhūtā vitthārāyāmasambhavo 'ti
 pujulenā ca dighena ca sambhū[3]to vuttayassa bhaṭṭhapavesanto
 anantonañ ca garulamhunam̄ agu bhavati. iti vuttodaye
 chaṭṭhamaparicchedavannaṭṭhakathā niṭṭhitā.

Colophon: p 32, line 4-5

|sađe,đ "lääw" "dau" "nii⁴ 'kqor³ lää cuļasakkalaaj (written: 'sakkajlaa)
 "dai ban 2°o3° 6 wan deey₂ möön sii₃ meen [wan] 3 yaam tajaa (?)
 sra{a}đe,đ (!) "khau maa 'suu" uṭugimhaa [kam]bhoojjā khqom₃ "khaa
 "dai khiiar₃ dhāmmadeesnaa phuuk₄[5] "nii⁴ "wai "gaam⁷ juu joottaka
 wälabuddhāsaasnaa (ee yan! ?) brä goodom "cau" taap 'tqo⁸ "dai 5 ban
 brä wässaa khqo suk₄ 3 prakaan mii nibbaan peen 'dii⁹ "lääw" dan pittaa
 maadaa yaatikaa 'bii¹⁰ "nqoñ₃ 'hääñ rau" ['juu] gon dö sudinnañ vadā me
 tanam̄ āhā hanta makaññā (?)|

/sadet lëew tâw nîi kòn lëe cünlāsakkalàat dâj pan s̄oŋ lóoj sâam sip hok
 wan taj mœøj sii meø wan sâam ñaam (...) saladet khâw maa sùu
 ?utu?kimhää kâmphoocä? khȫom khää dâj khian thammâteesanaa phuuk
 nîi wâj kám cuu cootaka? walä?püthhä?sâasanaa hèj phä? koodom cäw
 tâap tò̄ dâj hää pan phä? wâtsâa khȫo suk sâam phakaan mii nîppaan
 pën tîi lëew taj pittaa maadaa ñaatikaa pîi nôoŋ hèj law [cûu] khon
 tê? .../

Translation.

The end [of the book called V°] CS 1236 = AD 1874, on a day [called] |möön sii| [in the] Dai [tradition, corresponding to] the 3rd day [in the] Mon [tradition], at the beginning of the Hot Season [, as the] Khmer [would say?]. I wrote this Dhammadesanā manuscript with the wish to lend support to the Excellent Teachings of Lord Gotama so that they may stay for five thousand years. May I [by virtue of the merit acquired through this pious deed] ask for the Three Kinds of Happiness, the ultimate goal being Nibbâna, for myself, as well as for my parents, my brothers and sisters, and my relatives.

NB: On p 33 some further remarks are added by the scribe concerning his uneven handwriting. There is another copy of this well-known treatise about Pāli metre included in the microfilm collection; it is recorded on Roll 9, 069". Dc no 0255, ms no. 719. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1198 = AD 1836. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Remarks.

As the Burmese editions of commentaries on *Vutt* listed by Ichiro KATAYAMA in: Buddhist Studies (Bukkyō kenkyū) III, Hanamatsu 1973, p. 142, are inaccessible, it is not clear which commentary is contained in the present manuscript. (O. v. Hinüber).

27. SIVIJAYAPAÑHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA)

Roll 9, 059". Dc no 0254, ms no 430. 7 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 942 = AD 1580. Siam Society No. 159/SSLP. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins:

namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa. devarājanamo 'ty
 atthu 'ti. idam satthā jetavane viharanto dānapārami ārabba kathesi.
 ath' [2] ekadivassam̄ bhikkhudhammasabhāyam̄ katham̄
 samuṭṭhapesum̄ ...

Ends: phuuk 7, p 53 = *ni* r, line 5b – p 54 = *ni* v, line 1

yo rājaseṭṭho sivijayanāmo so dānināñño varalokanātho tumhe bhavantā[54.1] amataṁ paṭhentā dhāretha varavarajātakan tūti. Mahā-Sivijayajātakam paṭhamam niṭṭhitam.

Colophons.

(1) Cover Folio, recto side

|sii₂wijayyapañhaa 1 "cau° aananda peen "gau° saddhaa rañ "saan° "wai° peen muu[la]saasnaa 'büüa; peen prācī 'kāä sabbagññuṭa-ñnaanam traap, dai lää 'pai° 'dai° 'yaa°(!) peen gon hruu hnuuak taa pqqd, [rear side] lää gon byaadhi sak jaad "hüü° peen "phuu° droñ, traipiṭaka 'juu° jaati 'hüü° 'dai° triheetuṭuṭaññaa yavanto bbhabbañguggala 'yaa° peen gon duk₄ 'rai° kheen cai sak jaad 'yaa° 'hai° 'dai° prahmaad brā buddh brā dhamm brā sañgha "cau₁₀ sak jaati 'dāa°|

/siiwīcājñā?pāñhāa [phūuk] nāñ cāw ?aanantā? pēn kāw satthaā laj sāñg wāj pēn muulā?sāasanaa pāa pēn phatcāj kēe sappanñūttañnaanaj thalāap daj lee pāj dāj jāa pēn khon hūu nūak tāa bōt lē? khon phaññāt sak cāat hūu pēn phūu thalōj thalājpitaka? cūu caati? hūu dāj thali? hēettukka?pati?sāñthi?pāññāa ñāwantōo phāppā?pukkālā? jāa pēn khon tūk láj khēn cāj sak cāat jāa hāj dāj phamāat phā? pūt phā? tham phā? sāñkhā cāw sak caati? dēe/

Translation.

Siiwijaiyapañhaa - phuuk one. "Cau Aananda as leading supporter had [this manuscript] made in order to give a foundation to the Teachings of Buddha, so that it may contribute to [my] attainment of Omniscience. As long as [this] is not achieved, may I not be [reborn as] deaf, blind or as a man struck with sickness; [may I be reborn] as a man upholding the Three Baskets in each of his existences; may I be reborn with the consciousness of the Three Noble Root-Conditions (i.e. selflessness, kindness, intelligence); may I above all not be reborn as a poor man; may I not be negligent of Lord Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sañgha, in any of my future births.

(2) phuuk 1, no no., preceded by p 47

|kap "cau₁₀ guu dai hlaay peen "ton° 'waa° brā māhaa swaamii "cau° dōqr, jai lää brā māhaa swaa[mii] "cau° raajamo₂ndiian lää hlaan māhaath[ee]n "cau° 'māä° ki 'māä° kii paansok "paan° ('hmai°) 'juuay kan "saan° "wai peen muulāsaasnaa peen prācī 'kāä maggaphala|

/kap cāw kuu tañ lāaj pēn tōn wāa phā? mahāa sawāamii cāw dōon caj lē? phā? mahāa sawāamii cāw laacāmontian lē? lāan mahāathēen cāw mēe ki? mēe kii baansok bāan māj (?) cōj kān sāñg wāj pēn muulā?sāasanaa pēn phatcāj kēe mākkāphala?/

Translation.

To all the Venerables, like Bra Swaamii "Cau [residing at Wañ] Dōqr Jai, and Bra Swaamii "Cau [residing at Wañ] Raajamondiian.- The nieces of the Venerable Mahaatheera(s), 'Māä Ki and 'Māä Kii, and the villagers of "Paan 'Hmai helped each other in having made [this manuscript] wishing thereby to give a foundation to the Teachings of Buddha, and [hoping that this meritorious act may] contribute to the attainment of Path-Result.*

* For an explanation of the Pāli term magga-phala, s. NYANATILOKA 1972:141 (s.v. *phala*).

(3) phuuk 2, Cover Folio

|sii₂wijayyapañhaa phuuk₄ 2 sakraaj 942 nai plii, dāp "rau₁₀ lää|

/siiwīcājñā?pāñhāa phūuk sōoñ sakhaat kāw lōoñ sii sip sōoñ naj pī dāp lāw lee/

Translation.

Siiwijaiyapañhaa - phuuk two. [C] S 942 (= AD 1580), in the Year of the Cock.

(4) phuuk 1, no no., preceded by p 48

|sii₄wijayapañhaa phuuk₄ 1 pii₃ dap "rau₁₀ dùüan, 7 qok₃ 11 'gaam wan 3 dai "ruuañ₄ "sai" sakraaj "dai 942 rüük 9 ɻuua "cau" aanñdā peen "gau₁₀ saddhaa nak jöö, n₃ paanso₂k paansikaa dañ hlaay peen "ton 'waa r̄atana "paan" yaam "nii₃||

/s̄iwiçajñā?pāñhā phūuk nāñ pii dap lāw d̄aān cet ?òok sip ?et khām wan sāam taj lúaj sāj sakhat dāj kāw lóoj sii sip s̄oøj lēuk kāw tūa cāw ?aanantā? pēn kāw satthaa nāñ cœen baansok baansikāa taj lāaj pēn tōn wāa lāttanā? bāan ñaam nii/

Translation.

Siiwijayapañhaa - phuuk 1; Year of the Cock, in the 7th [lunar] month, on the 11th day of the waxing moon, [corresponding to] the third day [of the Mon tradition, called] |"ruuañ "sai| [in the Dai tradition], in [C] S 942, at ūkṣa 9. - "Cau Aananda was the leading lay supporter and the initiator who invited all the lay-men and lay-women, including the people of this splendid village named "Paan Yaam (?) [to join in the meritorious act of having made this manuscript].

NB: Another short colophon, found at the end of phuuk 2 (no no., preceded by p 46 = *ghaḥ* v) which is almost identical with (3), above, confirms the date as given in (4).

(For Remarks, see 28, below)

28. SIVIJAYAPAÑHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA)

Roll 3, 088". Dc no 0052, ms no 344. 7 phuuk, 5 lines. [1st bundle?]. Complete. CS 1201 (or 1141?) = AD 1839 (or 1779?). Siam Society No. 38/2508 SSLP. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins:

namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa. devarājanamo 'ty atthu. idam satthā jetavane viharanto dānapārami ārabhba kathesi. ath' ekadivassam bhikkhudhammasabhāyam kathañ samuñha[2]pesum ...

Ends: phuuk 7, p 52 = *bhā* v, line 4c – p 53, line 1 (upside down; preceded by p 51)

so nāma nāgo varapāli[5]leyyo sabbe sivirājanā ca sebhāparissabhbūtā tathāgatassa yo rājaseñtho sivijayanāmo so dānināñño varavarajātakan tī[53.1]ti. Mahā-Sivijayajātakam pañhamam niñhitam.

Colophons.

(1) Front Cover Folio, recto side

|"hnaa rap "glau sii₄wijeyyapañhaa phuuk₄ "ton lāä| /ñāa lāp kāw s̄iwiçajñā?pāñhā phūuk tōn lee/

Translation.

Front Cover Folio - Siiwijeyyapanhaa (*Sivijayapañha*), first phuuk.

(2) phuuk 1, p 37 = *khe* r, line 3

|paañlii sii₄wijeyyapañhaa phuuk₄ "ton lāä "khaa "lāäm plii kad "gai" dùüar, 10 duñya rääm 11 'gaam 'braam 'waa "dai wan 2 srāde₂jh "lāäw yaam trāä 'gaam sakraaj "dai 1201 (?) ɻuua lāä iminā sabbavatthudāñena sabbaparivāre dānekatapuññe a[4]ñagatakāre arahantā rabheyyam ariyah metteyyasantike ehi bhikkhupaccayabhadāyam paccayo hotu sañsañe sañsañato 'pi tikhapaññā visāradā surūpattā bhyāgyañ vanñā mahātejā mahāpaññā mahābbalā mahāsattaratanasa samlanān bhaf[38.1]vā majāñloratthi sattasahasesu mā daridā bhavāmi 'ham 'dai° "nii "duuay° teejā kusla naa pun₂ an "khaa "dai "lāäm "dai khiiar", yañ paañlii sii₄wijeyyapanhaa "nii" khøq 'cu,ñ° "hüü uđom somriddhii ñañ° gaam praathnaa hāññ° ɻuua "khaa ju yüüa,ñ ju prākaan 'dāä° dō|

/baalii s̄iwiçajñā?pāñhā phūuk tōn lee khāa t̄eem pii kat kāj dāān sip tūtiññā? leem sip ?et khām phām wāa dāj wan s̄oøj saladet léew ñaam thalēe khām sakhat dāj pan s̄oøj lóoj ?et tūa lee ?imñ?naa ... phāwaam? hāñ dāñ nii dōj t̄eecā? kutsala? naa bun ?an khāa dāj t̄eem dāj khian ñaag baalii s̄iwiçajñā?pāñhā nii khōo cūp hēñ? uđom sōmlitthii dāñ kam phāathanaa hēñ tūa khāa cū? ñaag cū? phakāan dēe t̄e?/

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of] Siwijeeyyapañhaa - First phuuk. I wrote this in the Year of the Elephant (|pii kađ "gai"), in the 10th [lunar] month, on the 11th day of the waning moon, corresponding to the 2nd day [of the Mon tradition], accomplished at the time of the evening horn, in [C] S 1201 ... - May the power of the merit I have gained by writing this Pāli text of S° lead to the fulfilment of each and every wish I have expressed!

(3) phuuk 2, p 37 = *ghe r*, line 3b-4

|s° phuuk₄ 2 "khaa "tääm plii kađ "gai' düüar₃ 11 qok₄ 2 'gaam° 'braam° 'waa° "dai wan 2 yaam trää baad (?) sākraaj "dai 1201 (?) tūua srađe,jh "läaw° lää 'gqoy° biccaranaa (!) duu dō [4] "duuay teeja kusla 'suuar₂ puŋ₂ an "khaa "dai "tääm° yañ paaļii s° "nii° khqo "hüü "khaa mii pryaā paññaa an sliiaw₃ slaad wiseet sak swaad aad "ruu yañ 8 'hmüür₃ 4 ban khan "cau° ju duuañ₃ dhāmm 'guu° bhawā jaad traap 'tqo° "dau₂ "khau° 'suu neerabbaan "duuay "miiar, soñsaan siia "hüü khaad° 'diiñ₃ "dää° qii hlii dō|

/s... phuuk sōŋ khāa tēem pīi kat kāj duan sip ?et ?òk sōŋ khām phām wāa dāj wan sōŋ ñaam thalēe pāat sakħāat dāj pan sōŋ lōj ?et tūa saladet lēew lee kōj pītcalanaa duu tō? dōj tēecā? kutsala? sūan bun?an khāa dāj tēem ñaj baalii s... nii khōc hēu khāa mii phāññaa pāññaa ?an saliaw salāat wīseet sak swāat ?āat lūu ñaj pēet māuñ sii pan khān cāw cū? duaj tham kūu phāwā? cāat thalāap tō taw khāw sūu neelāppaan dōj mīan sōñsaan sīa hēu khāat tīaj tēe dii līi tō?/

Translation.

S° - phuuk two. I wrote this in the Year of the Elephant, in the 11th [lunar] month, on the 2nd day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the second day [of the Mon tradition], at the time of the late evening horn;* accomplished in [C] S 1201.- May I, by virtue of the merit I have earned by writing this Pāli text of S°, be bestowed with an intelligent mind, wisdom, and mental acuteness, and utmost capability so that I may know all the 84,000 khandhas in every [future] life until, after the definite

disruption of Sañśāra, I may enter Nibbāna. Oh, may this wish come true!

* /ñāam thalēe pāat/; the time designated by this expression is not entirely clear. Probably, it corresponds to the time from 4.30 p.m. to 6 p.m. See TUIKEO 1986: 107, footnote. Cf. also the Laotian equivalent »gnaam phat lan« mentioned in PHETSARATH 1959:99.

(4) phuuk 3, p 48 = *ce v*, line 4

|sade,c "läaw° düüa,n 10 rāäm 15 'gaam° düüa,n dāp wan 7 lää "khaa khqo an suk₄ 3 prākaan mii neerabbaan peen yqod₃, "dää° dō dhā "nii° hōoy lää|

/sadet lēew duan sip leem sip hāa khām duan dap wan cet lee khāa khōo ?an suk sāam phakāan mii neelāppaan pēn ñōot dēe tō? thā? nī hēaj lee/

Translation.

Accomplished in the tenth [lunar] month, on the 15th day of the waning moon, on the seventh day [in the Mon tradition]. May I [by virtue of the merit acquired] just ask for the Three Kinds of Happiness with Nibbāna as the ultimate goal!

(5) phuuk 4, Cover Folio, no no., preceding p 1

|paaļii s° phuuk₄ "thuuar, 'thii° 4 lää 'nōo° naay hōoy "hnaa rap "glau° paarii sii,wijaiyyapāñhaa phuuk₄ "thuuar₃ 4 "khaa "dai khiiar, dhāmm phuuk₄ "nii "khaa khqo an suk 3 prākaan mii nibbaan peen yqod₃, "dää° dō 'nōo° naay[2] naay "hwai° dañ hlaay hōoy|

/baalii sīwīcajññā?pāñhaa phuuk thūan thīi sīi lee naaj hēaj nāa lāp kāw baalii sīwīcajññā?pāñhaa phuuk thūan sīi khāa dāj khīan tham phūuk nī khāa khōo ?an suk sāam phakāan mii nīppaan pēn ñōot dēe tō? nēe naaj naaj wāj taj lāaj hēaj/

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of] S° - 4th phuuk. Cover Folio of the Pāli text of S° - phuuk no. 4. Having written this phuuk, I should like to ask for the Three Kinds of Happiness with Nibbāna as the ultimate goal, dear respected readers!

(6) phuuk 4, Back Cover Folio (no no., preceded by p 40 = *ji v*)

|paaļii sii₄wijeyyapāñhaa phuuk₄ 4 lää 'nöö° naay hööy "hnaa' rap plaay
paaļii s° lää 'nöö° naay 'dii "hwai ṭon ḍai liiap len 'go° 'gqoy" biccarañaa
"hüü° 'thii" dö "khaa 'pq" kwääär₃ hlaay lää|

/baalii siiwicajññä?pāñhāa phuuk sii lee nñø naaj hëøj nña lüp pääj baalii
s... lee nñø naaj tñi wäj tñon daj däj lïap leg kô kôj pïtcalanaa hññ thii tñ?
khää bò kwën läaj lee/

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of] S°, phuuk 4, my dear! Back Cover Folio of the Pāli text of S°, my respected, dear! Whoever among you, my fellow Monk-Brothers, casts his eyes on it, may you please use thorough consideration; I am not [a] skillful [scribe] at all.

(7) phuuk 5, Front Cover Folio**|s° phuuk₄ 5**

paaļii lö₃k rääp "luuar₃
peen 'klaa° kqor₃ gaam guuar₃
tuua aq qok₄ bøq "huuar₃ "huuar₃
tok 'dii" ḍai" 'pq° "cääñ "waiy
yaiyadhamm lää naay h₂ööy|

'yaa° luuar₃ dan 'bøq°
waad "waiy
haa yaak nak lää
'cim° "cau ṭon trad

/baalii lëk lëep lúan
pën kàa kçon kam kuan
túa ?at ?òok pøo húan húan
tok tñi daj bò cëeŋ wáj
ñajñätham lee naaj hëøj/
jää luan tan pöö
wåat wáj
hää nñak nñk lee
cim caw tñn thalat

Translation.

Pāli words are deep and subtle, do not pass them over fast, composed they are as poetry which deserves to be engraved for ever. Elusive is their meaning and often difficult to grasp; if words are dropped, no hint is given — only Enlightened Ones will know.

Dhammas they present which should be known.

(8) phuuk 5, p 43

|naaradä cak₄ ri rañ "thqoy°
'yuu° waty₂ waad srii paan pai
naa "iian° "kääw° raad lüü jaiy
khiliar₃ lää 'nöö° naay 'dii "hwai
snuk₃ cai kqor₃ lää
kööt "han°
lüü raad mii₄ lää
bra 'møqr₃ 'yaa° grniñ|

/naaläñtä? cak lñ? laj thõçj
jùu wäat wåat sali baan baj
naa ?iñaj këew lñat lñu caj
khian lee nñø naaj tñi wäj
sanuk cäj kçon lee
këet hän
lñu lñat mii lee
phä? mññ jää khanij/

Translation.

Naarada [-Bhikkhu] will tell you some heart-warming words, while staying at Waad Srii Paan Pai, in the village of his birth, in a splendid place well-known by all, called Naa "Iiañ; it's there that these words were written, respected reader — do not doubt!

(9) phuuk 5, p 44

|S° phuuk₄ 5 [2] cu_las₄akk₄raaj "dai 1121 tuua plii ka_d "glai sra_de₄jh "lääw° yaam tuu_d, "jaay mee_n wan 2 daiy möön "rau° "khau nai w_ass_a[a]na güü 'waa° düüa₄n 11 q_ok₄ 2 'gaam "lääw° 'kää° "khaa' lää nibbāna_m parama_m sukkha_m 'cu_n" cak₄ mii 'dii_an° "dää° q_{ii}-hl_{ii} dö_s |

/s... phuuk hāa cūnlāsakhāat dāj pan lōj saaw ?et tūa pīi kat kāj saladet lēew ñaam tuut cáaj me_j wan s_ooj taj m_oen lāw khāw naj wātsāanā? k_ua wāa d_uan sip ?et ?ōok s_ooj khām lēew k_ee khāa lee ñippaana_j palāmaj sukkha_j cūj cak mii tīaj tēe dii līi tō?/

Translation.

S°, phuuk 5. CS 1121 - Year of the Elephant. Accomplished at the time of the afternoon horn, on the 2nd day [according to the] Mon [tradition, called] |möön "rau| [in the] Dai [tradition], at the beginning of the Rainy Season, that is in the eleventh [lunar] month, on the 2nd day of the waxing moon. Nibbāna is the utmost happiness — may this definitely come true [for me]!

(10) phuuk 6, p 50 = pa_h v, line 5

|vanaka_ñda_m nitthita_m [5] cu_las₄akk₄raaja "dai 1121 tuua plii ka_d "glai° düüar₃ 10 dutiya daiy kaap se_ñth mee_n wan 2 "khaa khiiar₃ "lääw° düüar₃ 10 dutiya q_ok₄ 9 'gaam "braam° "dai wan s_oon risnaa khiiar₃ "lääw° yaam wan 'dii_an° sudinna_m vata me dāna_m dhammajināti|

/... cūnlāsakkalaacā? dāj pan lōj saaw ?et tūa pīi kat kāj d_uan sip tūtiñā? taj kāap set me_j wan s_ooj khāa khian lēew d_uan sip tūtiñā? ?ōok kāw khām phām wāa wan s_ooj lītsanāa khian lēew ñaam wan tīaj.../

Translation.

CS 1121 - Year of the Elephant, in the 10th [lunar] month, on the second day [according to the Mon tradition, called] |kaap se_ñ| [in the] Dai [tradition].- I completed my writing in the 10th [lunar] month, on the 9th

day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the second day [of the Mon tradition]. The writing was completed at noon-time.

(11) phuuk 7, p 54 (upside down)

|cu_las₄akk₄raaja "dai 1121 tuua plii ka_d "glai° düüar, sraaw_ana daiy|[3] 'tau sii, mee_n wan 6 "khaa risnaa khiiar₃, "lääw°[4] khiiar₃, "waiy "gaam° juu buddhās₄naa (written °buddhās₄naa) traap 't_oq° an aayu laan peen prādhaar 'ciñm(!) 'dää|

/... (s. above) ... d_uan salaawan taj tāw sīi me_j wan hok khāa khian lēew ñaam wan tīaj khāa lītsanāa khian lēew khian wāj kām cuu pūthā?sāsanaa thalāap tō? an ?aaññ? laan pēn phathaan cīñ dēe/

Translation.

CS 1121 - Year of the Elephant, in the month |sraawañ|*, [on a day called] |'tau sii| [in the] Dai [tradition], [corresponding to] the sixth day [in the] Mon [tradition]. I completed my writing at noon time. I have now completed my writing. I wrote this in order to support Buddha's Teachings for as long as the palm-leaves may endure.

* < Skt *śrāvāṇa*

NB: for the last sentence, cf. no. 15 (6), above!

(12) ibid., on left margin

|"khaa "dai khiiar₄ dhāmm₂ "nii° kh_oq "hüü peen uppānisi prācayi "gaam juu' ton[4] tuua 'hāññ "khaa' traap 't_oq° "dau' thöön nibbaan dō|

/khāa dāj khian tham ní khō_o hāññ pēn ?uppanīsāj phatcāj kām cuu tōn tūa hēj khāa thalāap tō_o tāw thēj ñippaan tō?/

Translation.

May the writing of this Dhamma [manuscript] help to give support to myself until I eventually reach Nibbāna.

Remarks.

From what is indicated in the Pāli colophons at the end of the last phuuk of both manuscripts 27 and 28, it may be assumed that their 7 phuuk in fact constitute the first bundle of a set of at least two. No. 27 represents, as it seems, the oldest dated specimen of a monolingual Pāli version of any non-canonical Southeast Asian Jātaka known up to the present. A copy of this very popular Jātaka, well-known also in neighbouring countries, was brought to Europe as early as the 17th/18th century; it appears in FOURMONT's catalogue of 1739 (see Bibliography), and, as G. CEDÈS (1966:43) notes, is mentioned also in an essay on Pāli written in 1826 by E. Burnouf and Ch. Lassen. A brief synopsis of the story, based on a manuscript written in Lampang in AD 1838, can be found in CEDÈS (ibid.). As for no. 28, there are two conflicting dates given in the colophons, viz. CS 1121 (phuuk 1, 2), and CS 1201 (phuuk 5, 6, 7). Of these two dates, only 1201, however, fits with the name of the Cyclical Year |pii kad "gai| mentioned in the colophons. A thorough check on the orthography could perhaps reveal some clues about the factual age of the copy. Meanwhile, the later date is given the credit as the more probable one. According to CEDÈS (ibid.) there is a printed edition in Central Thai script of the Pāli text — represented by various manuscripts kept at the libraries of Paris, Bangkok, etc. — of the *Mahā-Sivijayajātaka* (published in Bangkok, Dharmabhakti Press).

29. PARAMATTHAVIBHŪSANĪ

Roll 8, 144". Dc no 0239, ms no 704. 12 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete (?). CS 1223 = AD1861. Wat Chang Kham (NT /wāt cāāj kám/). Amphoe Muang, Nan.

Begins:

namo tassa. karuṇā vissasatte sapaññāyassa mahesino ñeyyadhammesu sabbesu pavittitha yathā ruci|la|tassa pāde namassitvā sammaddhassa (read: sambuddhassa) sirimatto saddhamma[2]ñc' assapuretvā katvā ssaṅghassa sañcalinti. iti h' idam vihitam kiñc attham vihitanti ...

Ends: phuuk 12, p 22 (difficult to read on the microfilm)

Colophons.

(1) phuuk 1, Front Cover Folio (preceded by p 1, 3, 5 etc.)

|paaññi pāramatthāvibhuusāñi (Paramatthavibhūsanī) phuuk₄ "ton dañ muuar, mii 12 phuuk₂ lää "hnaa dhap "glau tūua paaññi p° phuuk₂ "ton lää phuuk₃ "ton wañ huua faay" rikkhitta "gaam juu mahaajiiwid lää-naa|

(on left margin:) |p° phuuk₄ "ton aakkhañ "tañ /kja rōqđ, khā |

/baalii p ... phuuk tōñ taj muan mii sip sōqñ phuuk lee nāa thāp kāw tūa baalii p ... phuuk tōñ lee phuuk tōñ wāt hūa fāaj likkhitta? kām cuu mahāaciwiñ lee naa/

(on left margin:) /p... phuuk tōñ ?akkhala? tāñ ka? lōt khāa/

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of the] P°, first phuuk. Altogether there are 12 phuuk.- Front Cover Folio of the Pāli text of P°, first phuuk.- The first phuuk was written by [a monk or a novice from] Wañ Huua Faay in support of [the meritorious efforts pursued by] the "Lord of Life".*

* This and other similar mentions in the colophons of 29 and 30 refer to Anantaworaritthidet who ruled over Nan from AD 1855 to 1893. (For more details, see Remarks to 30, below).

(On left margin:) P°, first phuuk; from *akṣara ka* to *akṣara khā*

(2) phuuk 2, p 38 = *kra* (!) v, line 1b-3a

|paripuññā "lääw° yaam kqōñ, lään (?) lää tūua "khaa 'jüü° (written: ji) hnaan" abhijaiy" hnii ruk₂ müüañ 'bää maa 'yuu kap gruu p{r}aa "cau wañ "paan "kääm" wañ "paan noqñ, "gaam juu gruu p{r}aa "cau "waiy "gaam juu' saasnaa (written: snaa) 5 ban bhā wās[s]aa 'klää "khaa lää dhāmm somdeñh brā "cau jii, wiñ lää[3] dii-hlii dō|

/palīpūnnā? lēew nāam kōjø leej(?) lee tūa khāa cāu nāan ?apphīcaj nī
lūk mhaŋ pēe maa jīu kap khuu baa cāw wāt bāan kēem wāt bāan nōok
kám cuu khuu baa cāw wáj kám cuu sāasanaa hāa pan phā? wātsāa kēe
khāa lee tham sōmdej phā cāw ciiwīt lee dii līi tē?/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the sunset drum. My name is Hnaan Abhijaiy. I came over from Müüah 'Bää to stay with the Venerable Gruu Paa "Cau at Wad "Paan "Kääm, a rural monastery, wishing to help the Venerable Gruu Paa "Cau supporting [Buddha's] Teachings throughout five thousand years.- A Dhamma manuscript made with the support of His Majesty the Lord of Life.

(3) phuuk 7, p 39, line 2

|culabaddasakkraajä(!) "dai 1223 tuu plii "ruuañ° "rau¹⁰ düüar, 4 huulaa qök, 12 'gaam meeñ [wan] 4 daiy kaş "gaiy yaam lään rüü,k¹, [?] pari¹puunna "läaw° yaam "nan lää [2] 'pa' dhammajinässttinam vatta me dinam nibbänam paramam sukkham nicam dhuvam dhuvam paan(!) 'müüa³ 'yuu sät¹hi[t] saamlaan wad lqon müüa³ buua wan "nan lää saadhu "cau jeeyyaseen lää|

/cǔnlāpāttā? sakkalaacā? dāj pan sōj lōj saaw sāam tūa pī lúaj láw
d̄eān sīi hǔulaa ?òok sip sōj khām mej [wan] sīi taj kat káj ñaam
leej lātuk [?] palipūnnā? lēew ñaam nān lee ... pāaj māa jùu satthit
sāmlaan wāt lōoŋ māan pua wan nān lee sāathū? cāw cajnāsēen lee/

Translation.

CS 1223 - Year of the Cock, in the 4th lunar month, on the 12th day of the waxing moon, on the 4th day [according to the] Mon [tradition, called] |kad "gai| [in the] Dai [tradition], at the time of the sunset [drum], at ƒkša [?], accomplished in this very moment. [Written] while I stayed happily at Wad Loon, Müüan Buua, on that very day. [Written by]

the Venerable Jeeyyaseen.*

* (Pāli Name: *Jayasena*).

(4) phuuk 8, p 32 = 16 v, line 2b-4c

|paripunñña "lääw° {yaam} yaam thää [?] 'kää" "khaa lää cuļasäkkaraaja
"dai 1223 tuua plii kad "rau 'kää" "khaa lää kattiyos(!) bhikkhu "dai
khiiar, dhämm phuuk, "nii" "waiy "hüü" peen präcäi bai "hnaa[3] güü
müüa "faa° lää nibbaan 'kää" "khaa "dää qii-hlii lää "khaa khiiar,
"gaam° juu yañ "cau mahaajiiwid lää "khaa khiiar, "saan 'müüa° yuu
meettaa sa[d]dhaa "paan "kääm wiañ, buua wat peeñsakad wan "nan
lää na sobhati 'gq°-'pq° duu ñaam hnai lää du "cau brä naay ton dai
'aan" 'gq 'gqoy bicca[4]rañaa duu 'thii" dö, bqo 'yaa° ti, tuua "khaa 'dää"
dö, "khaa 'pq° 'jaan° "lääm° 'pq peen "mai peen tuua hnai lää du "paan
noqk, man 'pq° 'jaan° lää arahantämagaññapam nicam dhuvam dhuvam
"dää qii-hlii lää dharm "cau mahaajiiwit lää 'nöö° naay 'dii" "hwai|

/palīpūnnā? lēew nāam thēe [?] kēe khāa lee cūnlāsakkalaacā? dāj pan sōoŋ lōoj saaw sāam tūa pīi kat lāw kēe khāa lee katti?ñōt phīkkhu? dāj khīan tham phūuk nīi wāj hūu pēn phatcāj paj nāa[3] kuu mua fāa lē? nīppaan kēe khāa tēe dii līi khāa khīan kám juu nīaj cāw mahāaciwīt lee khāa khīan sāap mēa jīu mēettāa satthaa bāan kēem wīaŋ pua wāt beŋsakat wan nán lee nā? sōophāti? kō bō duu ŋaam nāj lee tū? cāw phā? naaj tōn daj ?āan kō kōj pīcalanaa duu thīi tē? pōcō jāa ti? tūa khāa dēe tē? khāa bō cāaŋ tēem bō pēn māj pēn tūa nāj lee tū? bāan nōok man bō cāaŋ lee ?alāhāntāa mākkānāaŋ nītcāj thūwaj thūwaj tēe dii līi lee tham cāw mahāaciwīt lee nāe naaj tīi wāj/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the [forenoon?] horn. CS 1223 - Year of the Cock. Kattiyos-Bhikkhu* wrote this phuuk as a contribution to future results, i.e. my ascension to the heavenly worlds, and Nibbāna; oh, may this wish come true! I wrote this in support of [the meritorious efforts pursued by] His Majesty the Lord of Life. I did the writing while I stayed, spreading Loving-Kindness among the lay community of [the village]

called] "Paan "Kääm, in Wiaā Buua, at Wad Peeñsakađ, on that very day.- [My writing] does not look beautiful at all. Whoever will read this, may he be a monk or a novice, should use thorough consideration; do not put blame on me, for I cannot write well, my characters do not take the shape of vowels and consonants. Village monks just don't have the skill. - May I [by virtue of the merit gained through writing this manuscript] attain the knowledge of the way leading to Arahantship; oh, may this wish come true, indeed! - A Dhamma manuscript [written at the behest] of His Majesty the Lord of Life, dear respected readers!

* < P Kittiyasa?

(5) phuuk 11, p 44 = khai v, line 3b - p 45, line 3c

|srađe,jh "lääw° yaam 7 'kää "khaa güü 'waa° yaam 'diiān, wan jariñ ciñ (!) "duuay teeja naa pur, an "khaa "dai[4] khiiar, dhamm phuuk, "nii° khqo "hüü° "dai thöön wiaān, "kääw yqod, neerabbaan an 'pq° "ruu° "thau 'pq° "ruu° taaay sak 'düüia, "dää qii-hlii prakaan 1 khqo "hüü° mii pryaā paññaa "ruu° hlwak, swak swaad aad "ruu° "kää peessnaa pañhaa an" yaak lää aad[45.1] "hüü° "ruu° dhämm brä buddha "cau 8 'hmüür, 4 ban khan "nan° 'cuñ cak, mii 'diiān° "dää° qii-hlii 'dää dö, [2] culasakkaraaja "dai 1223 tūua plii "ruuañ, "rau peen pii, yaacaadhi[ka]maađ meen wan 4 dai pöök "caiy düüia, 9 duñiya ['pq°?] hon qok, 'gaam 1 boodhisammanneen likkhitta lää 'müüa, 'yuu meettaa saddhaa[3] guu paa riia(n) müüa, n gwaan wan "nan "kii(!) lää khiiar, "gaam juu "cau mahaajiiwiđ ton sa-hwööy müüa, n nandapurii, nagoor, ton "thuuar, 5 lää "cau hööy|

/saladet lëew ñaam cet këe khää kue wâa ñaam tiaj wan calij cïg döj tëecä? naa bun ?an khää däj khian tham phuuk nü khö hää däj thëj wiaj këew nöot neeläppaan ?an bò lúu thäw bò lúu taa sak tâa tée dii lïi phakäan nêj khö hää mii phänñäa pänñaa lúu lwak swak swaat ?aat lúu këe petsanäa pänhäa ?an ñâak lë? ?aat[45.1] hää lúu tham phä? pütthä cäw pëet müun sii pan khän nán cùg cak mii tiaj tée dii lïi dëe të? [2] cünlässakkalaacä? däj pan sçoj lçoj saaw sâam tûa pïi lúap lâw pën pïi ñaacäathï[ka]mâat mej wan sii taj pëek cäj duan kâw tütinä? {bò?}

höon ?òok khâm nêj poothi? sammäneen likkhitta? lee mäa jùu mëettää sattha[3] kхуу baa liq (?) mæq khwaaq wan nán kii (?) lee khian kám cuu cäw mahäaciiwít tõn sawëej mæq nantä? pulii nâkcoon tõn thüan hää lee cäw hëej/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the 7th watch, that is, at noon, exactly.* May I, by virtue of the merit acquired by writing this manuscript, reach the splendid City of Nibbâna, the peak [of Happiness] where age and death are unknown for ever. Furthermore, I should like [in my future lives] to be bestowed with intelligence, wisdom, and acuteness of mind so that I may know how to solve riddles and answer difficult questions, and will be able to know all the 84,000 khandhas of Lord Buddha's Teachings - oh, may this wish come true! [2] CS 1223 - Year of the Cock, which happens to be a year with a supplementary month, on the 4th day [according to the] Mon [tradition, called] |pöök "caij [in the] Dai [tradition], in the 9th [lunar] month — the second one** — on the 1st day of the waxing moon. - Written by Boodhi-Sammanera (Bodhi-Sāmanera), while he stayed, spreading Loving-Kindness among the lay community, with the Venerable Gruu Paa Riiān (?) in Müüaā Gwaan, on that very day.- Written in support of [the meritorious efforts pursued by] His Majesty the Fifth Lord of Life*** who reigns over Müüaā Nandapuri!

* Counting from 6 a.m. (as is done also in Laos), one would have expected the 4th, not the 7th 'watch' (|yaam|) to be mentioned as equivalent with noon time. Cf. PHETSARAT 1959:99.

** P adhikamäsa ; cf. ibid., p. 102.

*** See Remarks to 30, below.

(6) phuuk 12, p 22, line 3a-c

|sakkabda "dai 1223 tūua plii, "ruuañ, "rau düüia, 11 hooraa qok, 4 (?) 'gaam meen wan 1 daiy koj san yaam wan 'diiān, paripunna lää|

/sakkaptā? dāj pan sōoj lōoj saaw sāam tūa pīi lūaj lāw duan sip ?et hōolaa ?ōok sīi (?) khām mej wan nōj taj kot sān nāam wan tīaj palipūnnā? lee/

Translation.

CS 1223 - Year of the Cock, in the 11th lunar month; completed on the 4th day of the waxing moon, on the 1st day [according to the] Mon [tradition, called] |kōd san| [in the] Dai [tradition], at noon-time.

(For Remarks, see no. 30)

30. PARAMATTHAVIBHŪSANĀ

Roll 8, 155". Dc no 0240, ms no. 1306. 12 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete (?). CS 1231 = AD 1869. Wat Chang Kham (NT /wāt cāān kám/). Amphoe Muang, Nan.

Begins:

namo tass' atthu. karuṇā vissasatte supaññāyassa mahesino nneyyadhammesu sabbesu pavattittha yathā rucitassa pāde namasitvā sambuddhassa sirimato sadhammañc' a[2][s]apuretvā katvā sañghassa cañ(c)alinti. iti h' idam vihitam kim attham vihitanti ...

Ends: phuuk 12, p 23, line 2b-3c
 ime dhammā nivaranā avippayuttā nideso dissati 'ti [3] katvā orambhāgiyuddhamhāgiyabhāvena (!) samagahitā ricchanā orambhā(giyuddhā)nivaranā gocchakam (!)

Colophons.

(1) phuuk 2, p 34 = 17 v, line 4b-5

|srađe,d "lääw" wan 7 yaam {t}thää cak "klai 'dīan" na sobhati 'gō-'pō nāam lāä 'gōq" yääñ" bai ḫaam 'yūa,ñ" dhāmm, dō ḫuua 'gō-'pō smöö kan [5] kusla "khaa 'dai "lääm dhāmm phuuk, "nī" khōq "hūü" mii phlā anisoñ(!) maak, hlaay "dää dō "lääm 'mūüa, güün {'mūüa, wan}

'phōq" 'pō [han] sak gaay heetu 'waa con "duuay dhāmm, (!) naa lāä "lääm 'mūüa, wan 'pō "dai lāä 'dīi" "hwai höoy" |

/saladet lēew wan cet nāam thēe cak kāj tīaj nā? sōophāti? kō bō gaam lee kōj nīeñ paj tāam nīñaj tham tō? tūa kō bō samōe kān [5] kutsala? khāa dāj tēem tham phūuk nī khōq hās mii phala? ?aanīsōj māak lāaj tēe tō? tēem māa khēen phōo bō [hān] sak kaaj hēet wāa cōn dōj tham naa lee tēem māa wan bō dāj lee tīi wāj hāe/

Translation.

Completed on the seventh day [according to the Mon tradition], at the time of the forenoon horn.- My handwriting is not beautiful. So you should look very carefully by adhering to the meaning of the Dhamma [text]. The characters are uneven. [5] May the good deed I accomplished by writing this phuuk bear ample fruit! I did the writing at night-time and therefore could not see well, because during the day I had to do my farmer's work; that is why I could not write at day-time, respected reader.

(2) phuuk 5, p 35, line 5c - p 36, line 2

|paripunñā "lääw" yaam kōñ, nāay[36.1] (not readable on the microfilm)[2] lāä bhāri, yaa raajapu, ttaaputtii "cau₁₀ ju ton 'yuu pacānta 'pō 'jañ" "lääm ḫuua paañii (...)|

/palipūnnā? lēew nāam kōj ḫaaj (...) lē? phālīñaa laacāputtāaputtii cāw cū? tōn jūu pacānta? bō cāān tēem tūa baalii (...) /

Translation.

Completed at the time of the morning drum (...) [2] and [by his] spouse, as well as his Royal sons and daughters. - Living out in the countryside, I lack the skill of writing.- The Pāli text [of the Pō?] ...

(3) phuuk 7, p 38, line 5b

|culasakkaraaja "dai 1231 tuua plii kad "sai "dai (...) 'jūū°-'waa° paramatthawi**bhuu**,sani₂ jootaka kap sommde₃jh {kap} "cau mahaajiiwid blqo 'cuñ° peen phla dii-hl₁ nicañ dhuvarñ dhuvarñ|

/cūnlāsakkalaacā? dāj pan sōñj lōj sāam sip ?et tūa pīi kat sāj dāj (...) cāu wā palāmāttha?wīphuusani cootaka? kap sōmdet mahāaciiwīt pōo cūn pēn phala? dii lī nītcāj thūwaj thūwaj/

Translation.

CS 1231 - Year of the Snake (...) named P°, in support of [the meritorious efforts pursued by] His Majesty the Lord of Life. May [this pious deed of mine] bear excellent fruit for ever and ever!

(4) phuuk 9, p 44, line 1b-2c

|srāde₃jh "lääw° yaam thää cak₄ "klai° 'diiañ° piañ₄ (?) kin 'dōqñ₃ 'diiañ° 'kää "khaa "nōqy "tääm mä güün bai nak lää biccarñaa au dö tuua "hyqo teem dhii sakhaad "dai [2] 1230(!) tuua plii (kad) "sai° dūuar, 10 qok₄ 12 'gaam° 'braam° 'waa "dai wan 2 'kää "khaa hnaar indasqor "tääm° tuua 'pō° smöö kan siia "lääw° "tääm° "gaam juu som(baan) "cau° mahaajiiwid 'daan° "hüü° "kää° 'gaa müü "tääm° "pii; 1 jalää|

/saladet léew ñaam thée cak kāj tīaŋ piaŋ (?) kīn tōŋ tīaŋ kēe khāa nōj tēem mā khuun paj nāk lee pīcalanaa ?aw tō? tūa ñōo tēm thii sakhaat dāj [2] pan sōñj lōj sāam sip tūa pīi kat sāj duan sip ?ōk sip sōñj khām phām wāa dāj wan sōñj kēe khāa lee nāan ?intā? sōñj tēem tūa bō samēə kān sīa léew tēem kām cuu sōmpaan cāw mahāaciiwīt tāan hēu kēe kāa māu tēem bīi nāŋ calee/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the forenoon horn, right in time for lunch. A lot was written at night-time; so make use of your own consideration! The characters are badly contracted.- CS 1230 (!) Year of the Snake, in the 10th [lunar] month, on the 12th day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the 2nd day [of the Mon tradition]. Written by Hnaan Indasqor. The characters have become increasingly uneven. Written in support of the

merit [accumulated by] His Majesty the Lord of Life. He provided the remuneration of one |"pii|* for the writing.

* |"pii| (/bīi/): an ancient money unit equivalent to 12 satang (100 satang = 1 Baht), according to information provided by Acharn Indr Suchai (/?in su?cāj/), Chiang Rai, for the forthcoming Northern Thai-Central Thai Dictionary presently being compiled by Professor Dr. Udom Roongruangsri.

(5) phuuk 10, p 33, line 5b-c

|paripuñ[n]a "lääw° yaam kqōñ, ñaay "khaa "nōqy° lää naama 'jūū°-'waa° bhyaa mañglasilaa "hnoöö° "dai "tääm "gaam juu sombaan somde₃jh "cau° mahaajiiwid 'daan° "dai "kää° 'gaa° müü "tääm° "pii; 1 [34.1] iminā dhammarikkhittadānañ attano yatthā bhave jāto ca mātāpitā sambandha sahayati kuru uppasāyā ca ti ehi bhikkhu vasam padam antamano ca(..)tta sassane ariyametteyyasantike ānāgate kāle attabhave[2] kāyajivhā sotāgandhanā saddhā rammā piyāmanusassadda manorammā vatthā jāta rū[pa] suvaññaherañña bahu honti pacupanā anāgate pacupanne attāyanam mayam evam nicañ dhuvarñ dhuvarñ "kää[3] me 'hääñ "khaa dö|

/palipūnnā? léew ñaam kōj ñaaj khāa nōj lee naamā? cāu wā phañaa mañkāññsilaa nēø dāj tēem kām cuu sōmpaan sōmdet cāw mahāaciiwīt tāan dāj kēe kāa māu tēem bīi nāŋ kēe mee hèŋ khāa lee/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the morning drum. My name is Bhyaa Mañgalasilaa. I wrote this in support of the merit [being accumulated by] His Majesty, the Lord of Life. He provided the remuneration of one |"pii| for the writing.

(6) phuuk 11, Front Cover Folio, no no., preceded by p 37

|"hnaa dapp₂ "glau paañii paramatthawibhuusani phuuk₄ 11 lää sääñ

raajjasompaš müüaň, hrin 'haaň' 'daar "tai"(!) khiaar[2] bra nagqor, müüaň, 'naan lää "cau höoy|

/nāa tāp kāw baalii palāmāttha?wīphuusani phūuk sip ?et sēen läatcāsōmbat māaj hīn hāaj dāan tāj khian phā? nākōon māaj nāan lee cāw hēoj/

Translation.

Front Cover Folio of the Pāli text of the P^o, phuuk 11. Written by Säǟn Raajjasompat, [living in] Müüaň Hin 'Haaň, to the South of Müüaň 'Naan, my dear!

(7) phuuk 11, p 38, line 4b-5

|cuļasakka "dai 1231 tūua plii kad "sai düüar, 12 "khün 14 'gaam 'braam' 'waa' "dai wan 1 "khaa "dai "tääm[5] dhamm phuuk, "nii" "gaam hnur, sombaar "cau, māhaajiiwiš nagqor, müüaň, 'naan' wan "nan lää 'daan" "dai "klää 'gaa klaamde,š müü "pii; 1 lää säǟn raajjasompat khiaar, lää|

/cūnlāsakka? dāj pan sōoij lōoj sāam sip ?et tūa pii kat sāj dāan sip sōoij khēn sip sīi khām phām wāa dāj wan nēn khāa dāj tēem[5] tham phūuk nīi kām nūn sōmpaan cāw mahāaciiwīt nākōon māaj nāan wan nān lee tāan dāj kēe kāa kāmdet māu bīi nēn lee sēen läatcāsōmbat khian lee/

Translation.

CS 1231 - Year of the Snake, in the 12th [lunar] month, on the 14th day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the first day [of the Mon tradition]. I wrote this phuuk in support of the merit [accumulated by] His Majesty the Lord of Life of Müüaň 'Naan, on that very day. His Majesty provided a remuneration of one |"pii| for writing.- Written by Säǟn Raajjasompat.

(8) phuuk 12, p 23, line 3c-4

|säǟn rattana "tääm "gaam juu sombaar[4] "cau māhaajiiwiš müüaň, nādāpulii bra nagqor, müüaň, "hnaan(!) lää "cau" naay höoy "khaa "nōqy 'yuu" "paan (...)| [not readable on the microfilm].

/sēen lättanā? tēem kām cuu sōmpaan cāw mahāaciiwīt māaj nātāpulii phā? nākōon māaj nāan lee cāw naaj hēoj khāa nōoj jūu bāan (...)

Translation.

Written by Säǟn Rattana in support of the merit [accumulated by] His Majesty the Lord of Life of Müüaň Nandapurii Bra Nagqor Müüaň 'Naan.- I am living in the village of (...).

Remarks.

The appellation "Lord of Life" etc., repeatedly mentioned in the colophons, refers to Anantaworariththidet who reigned over the Siamese vassal state of Nan from AD 1855 to AD 1893. The appellation "Fifth" Lord of Life as found in 29 (5) is not clear; in the line of Rulers over Müüaň 'Naan since the founding of Bangkok as the new capital of Siam in 1782, Anantaworariththidet (previous name "Anantayot") would be the seventh. Perhaps "Fifth Lord of Life" might refer to the fact that he was, according to an indication given in Phraya Prachakitkoracak's "Phongsawadan Yonok", the fifth child of Atthawarapanyo (r. 1786-1810), the first great monarch of Nan since the foundation of the Chakri Dynasty who, in 1788, went to Bangkok to offer his allegiance to King Rama I (r. 1782-1809); cf. SI SAM-ANG in: KROM SILPAKORN [ed.] 1987:58-9;70, and PRACHAKITKORACAK 3.1961:584. This ruler is known as a fervent supporter of Buddhism and the revival of the literary tradition of Lan Na. He is known to have pursued, and financed, no less than seven huge manuscript copying campaigns in his home territory, the last one, in 1886, amounting to 38 bundles comprising altogether 292 phuuk (cf. KROM SILPAKORN [ed.] 1974:21) and must be regarded as one of the great rebuilders of Lan Na culture and literature in the 19th century, alongside the Venerable Gruu Paa Kañcana of Müüaň 'Brää, by whose successful efforts he may have been inspired. The "Nan Chronicle", a history of Nan up to the reign of King Chulalongkorn in an English translation, is published in: WYATT [ED.] (1966). The *Paramatthavibhūsanī* is another

text which had been previously unheard of; there is no mention of such a work in Pāli and Buddhist studies up to the present.

INDEX

A. Pāli Manuscripts in Chronological Order (Christian Era)

1495 MILINDAPAÑHA 04
 1514 JĀTAKA: Tiñsanipāta 06
 1521 DHAMMAPADA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ 01
 1549 SAMYUTTANIKĀYA: Sagāthavagga 08
 1550 JĀTAKA: Paññāsanipāta 05
 1550 JĀTAKA: Sattatinipāta 07
 1550 PATTHĀNA-MAHĀPAKARANA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ 09
 1578 JĀTAKA: Vessantarajātaka-Aṭṭhakathā 14
 1578 JĀTAKA: Vessantarajātaka-Aṭṭhavaññanā-ṭīkā 13
 1580 SIVIJAYAPAÑHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA) 27
 1581 LOKADĪPA 20
 1591 SADDANĪTI 12
 1759 SIVIJAYAPAÑHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA) 28
 1833 CĀMADEVIVĀNSA 17
 1833 CAKKAVĀLADĪPĀNĪ 15
 1833 MANIPADĪPA 23
 1836 JĀTAKA: Vessantaradīpanī (Dīpanī Mahāvessantara) 19
 1836 LOKADĪPA 21
 1836 LOKASANĀTHĀNA 22
 1836 VAÑSAMĀLINĪ 25
 1837 BUDDHASIHIṄGA-NIDĀNA 24
 1842 CĀMADEVIVAṄSA 18
 1861 PARAMATṬHAVIBHŪSANĪ 29
 1869 CAKKAVĀLADĪPĀNĪ 16
 1869 PARAMATṬHAVIBHŪSANĪ 30
 1874 VUTTODAYA 26
 [n.d.; 16th c.?] DĪGHANIKĀYA: Sāmaññaphalasuttaṇ 11
 [n.d.; 16th c.?] DHAMMAPADA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ 02
 [n.d.; 16th c.?] ABHIDHAMMA-GUṄHATṬHA-DĪPĀNĪ 10
 [n.d.; 16/ 17th c.] JĀTAKA: Mahosathajātaka 03

B. Repositories of the Manuscripts (1974)

Wat Bun Yuen (NT /wāt bun ñūñ/), Tambon Wiang Sa, Amphoe Sa, Nan (Nos. 13, 14)

Wat Chang Kham [Worawihan] (NT /wāt cāaŋ kám/; CT /wāt cháaŋ khám wɔɔráwíhān/), Tambon Nai Wiang, Amphoe Muang, Nan (Nos. 16, 26, 29, 30)

Wat Lai Hin (NT /wāt làj hín/), Tambon Lai Hin, Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang (Nos. 01-11, 20, 27, 28)

Wat Phumin (NT /wāt phuumin/), Tambon Nai Wiang, Amphoe Muang, Nan (No. 12)

Wat Sung Men (NT /wāt sùuŋ mēn/; CT /wāt súuŋ mēn/), Tambon Sung Men, Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae (Nos. 15, 17, 18, 19, 21-25).

C. Texts and Authors

(No. in this article, date)

ABHIDHAMMA-GUŁHAṬṬHA-DĪPĀNĪ 10 (n.d.; 16th c.?)
Aggavaṇṭsa, s. SADDĀNĪTI
Ariyavaṇṭsa, s. MANIPADĀPA
Bodhirāṇsi, s. BUDDHASIHIṄGA-NIDĀNA ; CĀMADEVIVAṄSA
BUDDHASIHIṄGA-NIDĀNA 24 (AD 1837)
CAKKAVĀLADĪPĀNĪ 15 (AD 1833) same place; 16 (AD 1869)
CĀMADEVIVAṄSA 17 (AD 1833); 18 (1842)
DHAMMAPADA-ATṬHAKATHĀ 01 (1521); 02 (n.d.; 16th c.?)
DĪGHANIKĀYA: Sāmaññaphalasuttam 11 (n.d.; 16th c.?)
DĪPĀNĪ MAHĀVESSANTARA, s. JĀTAKA: Vessantaradīpanī
JĀTAKA: Mahosathajātaka 03 (n.d.; 16/17th c.?)
JĀTAKA: Paṇṇāsanipāta 05 (AD 1550)
JĀTAKA: Sattatinipāta 07 (AD 1550)
JĀTAKA: Tiñsanipāta 06 (AD 1514)
JĀTAKA: Vessantaradīpanī 19 (AD 1836)
JĀTAKA: Vessantarajātaka-Atṭhakathā 14 (AD 1578)
JĀTAKA: Vessantarajātaka-Atṭhavaṇṇanā-ṭīkā 13 (AD 1578)
LOKADĀPA (LOKADĀPAKASĀRA) 20 (1581); 21 (AD 1836)

LOKASANṄTHĀNA 22 (AD 1836)

MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA, s. SIVIJAYAPAṄHA
MANIPADĀPA 23 (AD 1833)
MILINDAPAṄHA 04 (AD 1495)
Nava-Medhaṭṭika, s. LOKADĀPA
PARAMAṬṬHAVIBHŪSANĪ 29 (AD 1861); 30 (AD 1869)
PAṬṬHĀNA-MAHĀPAKARANA-ATṬHAKATHĀ 09 (AD 1550)
SADDĀNĪTI 12 (AD 1591)
SAMYUTTANIKĀYA: Sagāthavagga 08 (AD 1549)
Saṅgharakkhita, s. VUTTODAYA
Sirimāṅgala, s. CAKKAVĀLADĪPĀNĪ and JĀTAKA: Vessantaradīpanī
SIVIJAYAPAṄHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA) 27 (1580);
28 (AD 1759)
ṬĪKĀ MAHĀ-VESSANTARA, s. JĀTAKA: Vessantarajātaka-
Atṭhavaṇṇanā-ṭīkā
VAṄSAMĀLINĪ 25 (AD 1836)
VUTTODAYA 26 (AD 1874)

D. Donors, Scribes, and Other Persons Mentioned in the Colophons

Aananda, "Cau [spp] 27 (AD 1580) (1) phuuk 1, cover folio
Abhijaiy, Hnaan [scr] 29 (AD 1861) (2) phuuk 2
Aḍḍha-Rassabhiikkhu [scr] 24 (AD 1837) (2) cover folio
Anantāraya Raajaadhiraaj "Cau, Somdecc Mahaaraaj, s. "Cau
Mahaayassaraajaa
Anantaworaritthidet (Ruler of Nan), s. "Cau Anantaworaridhiiđeej
Ariya-Bhikkhu [scr] 16 (AD 1869) (6) phuuk 8
Bhyaa ... : a title preceding the name proper; s. under the following word
Bindaa-Bhikkhu [scr] 16 (AD 1869) (3) phuuk 5
Boodhi-Sammaneer [scr] 29 (AD 1861) (5) phuuk 11
Bra Mahaaswaamii "Cau [Wad] Ḍoqor Jai [spp] 27 (AD 1580) (2)
phuuk 1
Bra Mahaaswaamii "Cau [Wad] Raajamondiian [spp] 27 (AD 1580)
(2) phuuk 1
Bra Mahaatheera "Cau Kañcana Araññawaasii [spp], s. Kañcana ...

Buua Gaam 'Taañ Müüañ, Mahaa-Upaasaka [spp, don] **06** (AD 1514)

Front and Back Cover Folio

Candamooñii Srii Saddhammakitti, s. Mahaa-Aggasaamii "Cau ...

Candamuñii ... s. Mahaa-Aggasaamii "Cau ...

"Cau Anantawqrariddhiñeej (Ruler of Müüañ 'Naan; r. 1853-93)

16 (AD 1869) (2) phuuk 2: Mahaaraaj; (7) phuuk 9
Mahaaraaja Müüañ 'Naan **29** (AD 1861) (1) phuuk 1:
Mahaajiiwid; (2) phuuk 2: Somđejh Bra "Cau Jiiwñ (4)
phuuk 8, (5) phuuk 11, **30** (AD 1869) (4) phuuk 9, (7)
phuuk 11, (8) phuuk 12: "Cau Mahaajiiwid **30** (AD 1869) (2)
phuuk 5: (unreadable on the microfilm); (3) phuuk 7, (5)
phuuk 10: Somđejh "Cau Mahaajiiwid

"Cau 'Hmüün Liiap Sääñ {Gaam} Daa, s. {Gaam} Daa, Sääñ ...

"Cau Mahaayassaraajaa (Ruler of Müüañ 'Naan; 1825-35)

15 (AD 1833) (1) "mai hlaap, **23** (AD 1833) (1) "mai hlaap:
Mahaaraaj "Cau Müüañ 'Naan; (2) ('Bq Qqk) Mahaaraas
15 (4) phuuk 1, front cover folio v: Somđech Mahaaraaj
Müüañ 'Naan; (10) phuuk 9, front cover folio: Somđecc
Mahaaraaj Anantaraya Raajaadhiraaj "Cau; (11) phuuk 9,
preceded by p 45: Somđecc Parammapqbbitt Sihaa Anantaraya
Raajaadhiraas "Cau (12) phuuk 10, 3rd cover folio: Somđecc
Parammapqbbitt Anantaraya Raajaadhiraas "Cau

"Cau Mahaajiiwid, s. "Cau Anantawqrariddhiñeej

"Cau Müüañ 'Brää [spp] **19** (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap, **21** (AD 1836)

(1) "mai hlaap, **25** (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap : "Cau Müüañ
'Brää **23** (AD 1833) (1) "mai hlaap: Mahaaraaj "Cau Müüañ
'Brää

"Cau Müüañ Hluuañ Bra Paañ, s. King of Luang Prabang

"Cau Raajjawañ Müüañ Hluuañ Bra Paañ, Prince of Luang Prabang [spp]

19 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap: "Cau Raajjawañ (2) phuuk 1,
preceded by p 49: Raajjawañ (4) phuuk 11:
Pqrommaseetthakhattiya Suriya Bra Raajjawañsaa Bra Mahaa
Uttama Oorassaa Raajaadhiraas" "Cau; **21** (AD 1836) (1)
"mai hlaap: "Cau Raajjawañ (3) phuuk 1, preceded by p 46:
Raajjawañ **22** (AD 1836) (3) phuuk 1, p 1 = **19** (4) (4) phuuk
1, Back Cover Folio, preceded by p 50: Raajjawañ **25** (AD

1836) (1) "mai hlaap and colophon at the end of phuuk 10:
"Cau Raajjawañ

Ciiam, Upaasikaa, 'Mää [spp, don] **09** (AD 1550) (2) back cover, v
Deebin, Hnaan [scr] **17** (AD 1833) (7) phuuk 3

Dhammadajai-Bhikkhu [scr] **16** (AD 1869) (2) phuuk 4

Dqor Jai, s. Bra Mahaaswaamii "Cau [Wađ] Dqor Jai

{Gaam} Baa, Naañ (wife of 'Hmüün 'Nqoy Traa) [don] **08** (AD 1549)
(2) phuuk 3, front cover folio; (5) phuuk 3, last folio;

(6) phuuk 4, front cover folio, v

{Gaam} Daa, Sääñ, "Cau 'Hmüün Liiap [spp, don] **20** (AD 1582)
(4) phuuk 12

Gaam Tan Suwanñaraajakalyaa, Naañ, late Princess of Luang Prabang
19 (AD 1836) (4) phuuk 11; **22** (AD 1836) (3) phuuk 1, p 1

Gruu Paa ("Cau) Kañcana Araññawaasii, s. Kañcana Araññawaasii

'Hmüün Liiap, "Cau, s. {Gaam} Daa, Sääñ [spp, don]

'Hmüün Nqoy Traa, s. {Gaam} Baa, Naañ [don]

Hnaan ... s. under the following word

Indasqor, Hnaan [scr] **30** (AD 1869) (4) phuuk 9

[Jayanāma-Bhikkhu], s. Jeeyyanaam-Bhikkhu

[Jayasena-Bhikkhu], s. Jeeyyaseen-Bhikkhu

Jeeyyanaam-Bhikkhu (< Pāli: Jayanāma) [scr] **23** (AD 1833)
(6) phuuk 5

Jeeyyaseen-Bhikkhu (< Pāli: Jayasena) [scr] **29** (AD 1861) (3) phuuk 7

Juuanja (?), Nak Puñ [scr] 10 (n.d.; 16th c.?), front cover folio,

Kääw, Naañ (wife of Naay Puñ Wađhana) [spp, don] **20** (AD 1582) (1)
phuuk 1, (2) phuuk 2, (3) phuuk 12, preceded by p 56; (4)
ib., p 56: Kammaraanan (= Kamalaananda?)

[Kamalaananda?], s. "Kääw, Naañ [spp, don]

Kammaraanan, s. "Kääw, Naañ [spp, don]

Kañcana Araññawaasii, Gruu Paa "Cau [spp] **15** (AD 1833) (1) "mai
hlaap (4) front cover folio, v; **17** (AD 1833) (1) "mai hlaap

19 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap (2) phuuk 1, preceded by p 49

21 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap (3) phuuk 1, preceded by p 46;

22 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap (4) phuuk 1, back cover folio;

23 (AD 1833) (1) "mai hlaap (4) phuuk 1, front cover folio;

24 (AD 1837) (2) cover folio, v: Bra Mahaatheera "Cau ... 25
 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap and end of phuuk 10
 Kattiyos-Bhikkhu [scr] 29 (1861) (4) phuuk 8
 Khaaw Srii, Naan (son[s]/ daughter[s] of) [spp] 12 (AD 1591) (1) phuuk 8, front cover folio, r (2) phuuk 24 (4) phuuk 22 (5) phuuk 8, front cover folio, v; also on phuuk 26, 29, 34-38
 Khamtan Suvannarajakalya, Nang (Princess of Luang Prabang), s. Gaap Tan Suwanñaraajakalyaa
 Ki, 'Mää ; Kii, 'Mää [spp, don; lay-women of "Paan 'Hmai] 27 (AD 1580) (2) phuuk 1, preceded by p 47
 King of Luang Prabang (Mangthathurat, r. 1817-36)[spp] 19 (AD 1836) (3) phuuk 2, preceding p 1: Porammapubbiṭ Bra Pen "Cau "Laan "Jaañ; 22 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap: "Cau Müuañ Hluuañ Bra Paan; see also 19 (AD 1836) (4).
 Luang Prabang, Ruler of, s. King of Luang Prabang
 'Mää ... , s. under the following word
 Mahaa-Aggasaamii "Cau Wad Candamooļii Srii Saddhammakiṭṭi [spp] 12 (AD 1591) (6) phuuk 21 (7) phuuk 32: °muulii; also on phuuk 23, front cover folio
 Mahaajiiwiḍ, see "Cau Anantaworariddhieej
 Mahaa Ñaañasamuddamañgalameedhaawii "Cau [spp] 10 (n.d.; 16th c.?) (1) front cover folio (3) p 48
 Mahaaraaj "Cau Müuañ 'Brää, s. "Cau Müuañ 'Brää
 Mahaaraaj ("Cau) Müuañ 'Naan, s. "Cau , s. "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa
 Mahaasañgharaajaa "Cau [spp] 05 (AD 1550) (2) front cover folio 07 (AD 1550) (1) front cover folio (3) phuuk 3
 Mahaatheen Paa Riiāñ(?) Suuñ [spp] 03 (n.d.; 16th/17th c.?)
 Mahaatheen Suuar Prahyaa [spp, don], s. Suuar Prahyaa
 Mahaatheera "Cau Kañcana Araññawaasii, s. Kañcana ...
 Mahaa Wajirapaññoo "Cau [spp] 12 (1591?) (3) phuuk 33, front cover folio, also on phuuk 34-35
 Mahawan-Bhikkhu (Pāli: Mahāvana-Bh.)[scr] 15 (AD 1833) (6) phuuk 2, preceded by p 50, (7) ibid., preceded by p 49
 Manglaasiilaa, Bhya [scr] 30 (AD 1869) (5) phuuk 10
 Mangthathurat, s. King of Luang Prabang

Müuañ 'Brää, Ruler of, s. "Cau Müuañ 'Brää
 Müuañ Hluuañ Bra Paan, Ruler of, s. King of Luang Prabang
 Müuañ 'Naan, Ruler of, s. "Cau Anantaworariddhieej, s. "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa
 Naan ... , s. under the following word
 Naarada [-Bhikkhu?] (scr) 28 (AD 1759) (8) phuuk 5
 Naay ... , s. under the following word
 Nak Puñ Juuajja (?), s. Juuajja
 Nan, Ruler of, s. "Cau Anantaworariddhieej, s. "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa
 Ñaañasamuddamañgalameedhaawii, Mahaa, s. Mahaa Ñaañaa...
 Phrae, Ruler of, s. "Cau Müuañ 'Brää
 Prince of Luang Prabang, s. "Cau Raajjawañ Müuañ Hluuañ...
 Puñ Wadhanā, Naay; "Käaw, Naan [spp, don] 20 (AD 1582) (1) phuuk 1, (2) phuuk 2, (3) phuuk 12; also on phuuk 3-11
 Raajamondiian, s. Bra Mahaaswaamii "Cau [Wad] Raaja...
 Raajjasompañ, Sään [scr] 30 (1869) (6) phuuk 11
 Raajjawañ Müuañ Hluuañ Bra Paan, s. "Cau Raajjawañ ...
 Rattana, Sään [scr] 30 (1869) (8) phuuk 12
 Riiāñ(?) Suuñ, s. Mahaatheen Paa ...
 Sään ... , (a title preceding the name proper) s. under the following word
 Sañgharāja, s. Mahaasañgharaajaa "Cau
 Sihaa Anantaraaya Raajaadhiraas "Cau, Somdecc (Parammapobbiṭ), s. "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa
 Siwijey-Bhikkhu [scr] (< Pāli: Sivijaya-Bh.) 23 (1833) (9) phuuk 8, p 44
 Sin Prahyaa, Naay [spp, don] 04 (AD 1495) (1) phuuk 15, p 58 (2) phuuk 2, line 1 on left margin; also on phuuk 2, line 48, phuuk 7, line 28
 [Sivijaya-Bhikkhu], s. Siwijey-Bhikkhu
 Somdejh Bra "Cau Jiiwiṣ, s. "Cau Anantaworariddhiideej
 Somdejh "Cau Mahaajiiwiḍ, s. "Cau Anantaworariddhiideej
 Somdecc "Cau Wad Candamooļii (Candamuulii), s. Mahaa-Aggasaamii ...
 Somdecc Paramapobbiṭ Sihaa Anantaraaya Raajaadhiraas "Cau, s. "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa
 Sudhamma-Bhikkhu [scr] 16 (AD 1869) (7) phuuk 9

Sundarapaññoo [don] 02 (n.d.; 16th c.?) (1) p 3 (3) p 9 (Sundara)
 Suuar Prahyaa, Mahaatheen [spp, don] 01 (AD 1495), front cover folio
 Traa, 'Hmüün "Nqoy, s. {Gaam} Baa, Naan [don]
 Uppanaama-Bhikkhu [scr] 23 (AD 1833) (2) phuuk 1, front cover folio
 Wajirapaññoo "Cau, Mahaa, s. Mahaa Wajirapaññoo ...

E. Names of Places

Bra Nagqor Müüan 'Naan, s. Müüan 'Naan
 Buua, Müüan, s. Müüan Buua
 'Daa "Sqoy*, s. Müüan 'Daa "Sqoy
 Hin (or Hrin) 'Haañ*, Müüan s. Müüan Hrin 'Haañ*
 Jääñ, Müüan*, s. Müüan Jääñ*, Müüan Jlään*
 Jlään, Müüan*, s. Müüan Jlään* Müüan Jääñ*
 "Laan "Jaañ 'Rom Khaaw 19 (3) phuuk 2, (4) phuuk 11
 Lambaañ, s. Index F: [Wad] Bra Dhaaq "Cau Lambaañ
 Lampang, s. Index F: [Wad] Bra Dhaaq "Cau Lambaañ
 Lan Chang (Lanchang, Lanxang, Lanxang Homkhao, Lan Sang), s.
 "Laan "Jaañ 'Rom Khaaw
 Lan Sang, s. "Laan "Jaañ 'Rom Khaaw
 Luang Prabang, s. Müüan Hluuañ Bra Paañ
 Müüan 'Bää 18 (3) 29 (2); s. also Müüan 'Brää
 Müüan 'Brää 17 (1); 19 (1), (2) 21 (1), (3) 22 (1), (4) 23 (1), (4)
 24 (2) 25 (1), also at the end of phuuk 10
 Müüan Buua (Pua) 16 (6), (7) 29 (3)
 Müüan 'Daa "Sqoy 04 (1), (2); 05 (1); 07 (2), (4); 08 (1), (3), (4), (7)
 (probably also nos. 01, 02, 03, 06, 09, 10, and 11)
 Müüan Gwaan* (Nan) 29 (5)
 Müüan Hluuañ Bra Paañ 19 (1), (2) 21 (1), (3) 22 (1), (3) 25 (1)
 Müüan Hrin 'Haañ* (Nan) 30 (6)
 Müüan Jääñ* 23 (9); s. also Müüan Jlään*
 Müüan Jlään* 23 (6); s. also Müüan Jääñ*
 Müüan 'Naan 17 (1) 23 (1) 16 (7); 30 (6): Bra Nagqor Müüan 'Naan
 (7): Nagqor Müüan 'Naan (8): Müüan Nandapulii Bra Nagqor
 Müüan "Hnaan 23 (9): Müüan Nandapurii Srii Müüan 'Naan
 29 (5): Müüan Nandapurii Nagqor

Müüan Nandapulii Bra Nagqor Müüan "Hnaan, s. Müüan 'Naan
 Müüan Nääñ 16 (7)
 Nan, s. Müüan 'Naan
 Nandapurii Nagqor, s. Müüan 'Naan
 Nandapurii Srii Müüan 'Naan, s. Müüan 'Naan
 Nääñ, Müüan, s. Müüan Nääñ
 "Paan 'Daa Huua Rüüan Ban* (Nan) 12, passim
 "Paan 'Hmai* (Lampang?) 27 (2)
 "Paan Hnaad (Nan) 16 (4)
 "Paan "Kääm* (Nan) 29 (4)
 "Paan Yaam (?)* (Lampang) 27 (4)
 Phrae, s. Müüan 'Bää, s. Müüan 'Brää
 Pua, s. Müüan Buua
 Sungmen, Sung Men, s. following entry
 'Suuñ Hmeer (Phrae) 24 (2)
 Ta Soi (or Tha Soi), s. Müüan 'Daa "Sqoy
 Wiang Pua, s. Müüan Buua
 Wiang Soi, s. Müüan 'Daa "Sqoy
 Wiañ Buua (Pua), s. Müüan Buua
 Wiañ ('Daa) "Sqoy, s. Müüan 'Daa "Sqoy

F. Names of Monasteries

Aaraam 'Suuñ "Hmeer (Phrae) 23 (4)
 [Wad] Bra Dhaaq "Cau Lambaañ (Lampang) 02 (2), (3)
 Wad {Buu "Kääw} Srii Pur Rüüan (Phrae) 18 (3)
 Wad 'Daa Mahimsaa* (Nan) 16 (2), (4)
 [Wad] Dqor Jai* (Lampang?) 27 (2)
 Wad Hluuañ Srii Jum (Phrae) 24 (2)
 Wad Huua Faay* (Nan) 29 (1)
 Wad Lqon* (Nan) 29 (3)
 Wad {Mahaasrohmañ} Srii 'Un Müüan* ('Daa "Sqoy) 07 (4); s. also
 Wad Srii 'Un Müüan*
 Wad Naa "Iiañ* (Lampang) 28 (8)
 Wad Nuua Dääñ (Nan) 15 (9)
 Wad Paak Nuua* (Lampang) 13 (1) 14 (2); also ibid., on p 3

Wād "Paan Düün* (Phrae) 23 (6)
 Wād "Paan "Kääm* (Nan) 29 (2)
 Wād "Paan Khōqr* (Nan) 16 (6)
 Wād Peeñsakañ (Nan) 29 (4)
 [Wād] Raajamondiian* (Lampang?) 27 (2)
 Wād Srii 'Un (or 'Ur) Müüañ* {Yossa "Dau "Faa} ('Daa "Sqoy) 05 (1)
 07 (2), (4) 08, (1), (3), (4), (7) 20 (3); probably also colophon
 in 03
 Wād 'Suuñ "Hmeer, s. Aaraam 'Suuñ "Hmeer
 Wād Suuar Khuuañ* ('Daa "Sqoy [?]) 06
 Wād "Ton Hnur ("Naamñ Saa) (Nan) 15 (7)
 Wād 'Un (?) Müüañ* 03, s. Wād Srii 'Un Müüañ*

NB: Monasteries marked with * could not be located to date. They are not mentioned in the list published by the Social Research Institute [n.d.; 1984?] either. (See Bibliography).

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Abbreviations:

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BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient
BIHP	Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JPTS	Journal of the Pali Text Society
JSS	Journal of the Siam Society
VOHD	Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland

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